

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 12/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'Soviet-Chinese Relations.'"

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on 12/4-8/67 from notes that CG 5824-S* had made of the original document while it was in his custody.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement and thus adversely affecting the national security.

A further reason for classification of the enclosed letterhead memorandum as "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" is because source advised that this document possibly could have been reviewed

- 1-704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000
- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
 - 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
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DEC 18 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 29 1967

CG 134-46 Sub B

by at least 200 to 300 persons in various languages as it was circulated to all the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties. Source advised he was entrusted with the original document and was responsible for its return to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and its review by the members of the CP, USA delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

December 12, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET-CHINESE
RELATIONS"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in December, 1967, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, a document prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), considered highly confidential, entitled, "Soviet-Chinese Relations," was circulated among visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of this document:

Soviet-Chinese relations have continued to deteriorate of late for which the Chinese side is to blame. Since 1960, the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has been stubbornly aggravating relations with our country at both Party and Government levels.

Our Party has displayed utmost patience and restraint in order to surmount the difficulties and differences that kept cropping up in strengthening unity of action with the CPC to consolidate the whole communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in line with principles of proletarian internationalism.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and
declassification~~

100-428091-

ENCLOSURE

6637

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET-CHINESE
RELATIONS"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The principled course of our Party with regard to the Chinese People's Republic (CPR) and the CPC is well known. It is a course of internationalist solidarity with the CPR and the CPC, a course designed to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. Ever since the establishment of the CPR, the Soviet Union constantly assisted China in building a new life to consolidate her position in the world arena.

Following the Plenary meeting of the Central Committee in October, 1964, the Central Committee of the CPSU took fresh steps to overcome differences and to normalize relations between the Soviet Union and China. We proposed joint action of both Parties, paying particular attention to the main aspects of the struggle against imperialism--worked step by step for unity on a principled foundation.

The Central Committee, CPSU, took important measures aimed at improving Soviet-Chinese relations. On its initiatives, the Central Committee, CPSU, stopped open polemics and re-established disrupted contacts with leaders of the CPC after a long interval. We invited the CPC and the government delegation to the 47th Anniversary of the October revolution. During the talks, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU, head of the CPSU delegation, declared: "We believe that after the October Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU new favorable opportunities have come to the fore and gradually overcoming the difficulties that arose in the relations between our Parties, normalizing the situation in the communist movement, and working for its unity on the principled foundations of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. We are firmly determined constantly to follow this line and express sincere hope that the Central Committee of the CPC will do the same."

"The conduct of the CPC delegation showed that it pursued totally different aims, its members bluntly called for a change in the policy of our Party based on the decisions of its latest Congresses, on the CPSU program and on the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings in Moscow. The Chinese delegation

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"displayed no desire to discuss Soviet-Chinese inter-state ties and did not advance any positive recommendations or any aspect of normalizing relations."

In the beginning of February, 1965, the Soviet delegation, headed by A. N. Kosygin, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, and Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR, visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic. The Central Committee, CPSU, decided to take advantage of this fact and the Soviet delegation flew via Peking to continue contacts with the Chinese leaders.

During the stopover, talks were held with leaders of the DPR and the CPC, including MAO Tse-tung. The first meeting proved the Chinese leaders "lacked constructive positions for joint discussion." The CPC leadership stubbornly reiterated their ideological stand against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. MAO Tse-tung was categorically against ceasing open polemics.

During negotiations with CPC leaders and in letters, the Central Committee, CPSU proposed a program for normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations on both Party and Government levels. We proposed bilateral top level meetings between delegations from the CPSU and the CPC. We proposed to stop polemics, expand economic relations, advance cultural cooperation, and a "coordination of foreign policy actions of the USSR and the DPR." The leadership of the CPC rejected all of our proposals to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. They refused to discuss ways and means to solve differences in the world communist movement.

"The Chinese leaders refuse to cooperate with the Soviet Union and other socialist states on the vitally important issue of assisting the Vietnamese people." Such unity would have speeded up bridling of forces of imperialism encroaching on the freedom of the Vietnamese people. In Peking, in February, 1965, the Soviet delegation proposed joint action with the DPR, including also the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic and the DRV and other

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET-CHINESE
RELATIONS"

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socialist countries to issue a joint statement of support of the Vietnamese people. This would have displayed unity between the Soviet Union and China but the leaders of the CPC were opposed to such joint action of socialist countries.

Twice the CPSU suggested representatives from three Parties, CPSU, CPC, and the Party of the Working People of Vietnam (PWPV) meet in joint discussions. These proposals to insure the security of the DRV were approved by the Political Bureau of the PWPV but were rejected by the Chinese leadership.

Future developments showed that the CPC leadership intended to follow the line of aggravating Soviet-Chinese relations as a pretext for new attacks on the CPSU. CPC leaders crudely slandered the CPSU, attacking the consultative meeting of nineteen fraternal Parties. In an article on March 23, 1965, it was indicated that "On the March meeting in Moscow, Chinese leaders demanded political capitulation along entire line, publicly the CPSU should renounce decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses and the program of the CPSU, the policy of peaceful coexistence, and even promise that it should never repeat such mistakes." Leaders of the CPC said polemics "cannot be stopped, neither for a day, nor a month, nor a year, nor for a hundred years, a thousand or even ten thousand years. If we do not stop after 9,000 years, we shall continue to criticize all of 10,000 years."

The Chinese leaders went as far as to say that their differences with the CPSU and the world communist movement are "differences between two hostile classes--the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" and declared that this struggle would continue "as long as imperialism and reaction exist in the world and there are classes and class struggle."

The Central Committee, CPSU, on November 28, 1965, sent a letter to MAO Tse-tung on the dangers of a split and the conviction that Soviet-Chinese peoples have common goals in the struggle against imperialism and emancipating peoples from the yoke of exploitation and for building a communist society. In reply to this comradely letter in calm tone, the Central Committee, CPC on January 7, 1966, sent a hostile,

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
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insulting letter to the CPSU. The Chinese leaders placed the CPSU "outside the ranks of Marxism-Leninism" and said there is nothing between our Parties that could unite us. The Central Committee, CPSU, continued the search for normalizing relations with the CPC. In January, 1966, a Soviet delegation headed by A. N. Shelepin, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, after visiting the DRV, stopped over in Peking and made a fresh attempt to continue contacts with CPC leaders. CPC leaders avoided these contacts. When some representatives of the Central Committee, CPC received the delegation, Shelepin reiterated the CPSU's consistent line and proposed joint action to help Vietnam and proposed a top level meeting of states either in Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, or any other place. We, the CPSU, again informed the Chinese leaders of the desirability of developing Soviet-Chinese inter-state relations, particularly in the spheres of commerce and economic cooperation.

The Central Committee, CPSU issued an invitation to the Central Committee, CPC, to send a delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. We wanted all socialist countries to demonstrate their unity at the Congress. "The CPC reply was filled with slander, falsifications regarding the CPSU and its leadership." Despite this, the CPSU did not conduct open polemics against the Chinese at the 23rd Congress which was a Congress held in the spirit of unity with all fraternal Parties and countries, including the CPC and the CPR.

The Chinese side also broke off all relations between the Young Communist League (YCL) organizations of the two countries. On May 13, 1966, the YCL of China published an insulting reply regarding an invitation to the 15th Congress of the YCL (Soviet Union) which was held in March, 1966.

The MAO Tse-tung group stepped up its struggle against the CPSU and the Soviet Union all along the line in the so-called 1966 cultural revolution in China. The eleventh Plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPC, held in August, 1966, approved all anti-Soviet directives and measures adopted and effected by the Chinese leadership in the past four years;

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found "absolutely correct and necessary the open criticism" of the CPSU and endorsed the anti-Soviet articles of the newspapers "Jen Min Jih Pao" and "Hung Chi," the article by Lin Piao, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPC, "long live the victory of the people's war" and others. The Plenary meeting set the goal of "efficiently dissociating" from the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and of fighting against them "to the end," characterized the policy of the Soviet Union as "counterrevolutionary" and underlined that there was "no place" for the USSR in "the international united front of struggle against U.S. imperialism," (from the communique of the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, CPC).

This was the first time that the Central Committee, CPC, in a document of its Plenary meeting, had directly linked up the anti-Soviet course of the CPC leadership with the name of MAO Tse-tung and turned the anti-Soviet line into the official policy of the CPC. After the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, CPC, the anti-Soviet campaign in China, which was already widespread, flared up with new force. On August 20, 1966, the street on which the Soviet Embassy was located was renamed "Struggle Against Revisionism." All building fences and roads were covered with anti-Soviet slogans in extreme language, "Sweep out the revisionist dogs and devils," or "Revenge for everything when the time comes." Hungweiping posters near the Soviet Embassy read "When the time comes, we shall skin you, pull your guts out, burn your corpses, and scatter the ashes in the wind."

During the "cultural revolution," monuments manifesting friendship of the peoples of the USSR and China were defaced or smashed (monument to Alexander Pushkin in Shanghai, Soviet-Chinese friendship monument in Shanghai, the summer house of Chinese-Soviet friendship in Hangchow, and others). Soviet citizens permanently residing in China were subject to bandit attacks, searches, beatings, and humiliation. In Moscow, Chinese provocations, including demonstrations and disturbances at the Lenin Mausoleum, fist fights and law violations, occurred. This was no accident but a planned provocation, part of a chain used for propaganda purposes like the lie that the Chinese citizens were "beaten in Red Square." This was used as a pretext for attacks on the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

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The Soviet Embassy was subjected to constant anti-Soviet demonstrations for over a fortnight. The loudspeakers blared around the clock, torturing Soviet citizens. The service staff quit the Embassy, declaring they had gone on "strike." Anti-Soviet demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking with their outrages continue to this day. This is why the USSR decided to recall families of Soviet representatives in the Embassy, the trade representatives, the staff of the economic advisers, and the Tass office.

The Chinese authorities did not insure normal conditions for the departure of Soviet people. Acts of violence, humiliation, and mockery were perpetrated against women and children. The most elemental norms of international law and human relations were violated. On February 6, 1967, the CPR informed the Soviet Embassy that the safety of Soviet citizens outside the Embassy's territory could not be guaranteed. This outrageous statement was revoked only several days later.

Radio propaganda beamed to the USSR is becoming more intense. Almost every broadcast appeals to the "overthrow" of the Soviet leadership. Anti-Soviet literature is mailed to Soviet institutions and private persons. All sorts of ruses are used by the Chinese to avoid state organs of the USSR; anti-Soviet brochures are placed between the pages or inside the covers of other books including books for children.

The Chinese Embassy in Moscow has become a center for anti-Soviet literature and rumors among Soviet people. The Soviet Foreign Ministry protests this illegal activity but the Chinese diplomats, however, are continuing their provocative activities. Chinese students studying in the USSR and citizens of the CPR residing in our country, public figures and tourists, are made vehicles of anti-Soviet propaganda.

In the international arena, the Chinese are conducting an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign aimed at discrediting in one way or another Soviet foreign policy. The Peking leadership endeavored to smear the Soviet support to the heroic Vietnamese people. Today, the Chinese are striving to discredit the stand of solidarity with the peoples of Arab nations.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
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The Chinese leaders are playing a provocative role in the current Middle East developments. They use filthy slander and fabrications about a "Soviet-American conspiracy," about "betrayal of Arab interests." CHOU En-lai, Premier, CPR, sent special messages to the leaders of the Arab states calling them to "continue the war at all costs." This, too, clearly reveals that the MAO Tse-tung group is bent on aggravating the internal situation and worsening relations with the USSR and other countries of the socialist camp, inciting a clash between the USSR and the USA and unleashing a world war.

Chinese leaders resort to the foulest of means. During the Israeli aggression, for instance, they spread a provocative fabrication that the Soviet specialists in the United Arab Republic (UAR) were Israeli spies and that they informed Israel which targets in the UAR had to be bombed first.

The Chinese leadership in this case, too, seeks to take a stand which MAO has described in the formula "Sit on a hill and watch the battle between two tigers." Bent on making trouble, it was not accidental that "Jen Min Jih Pao" on June 3, 1967, on the eve of events, wrote: "When US warships met at sea with the warships of the Soviet revisionists, neither of them thought of crossing swords or of pitting their strength."

There are constant provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border. More than 450 group violations of the border from the Chinese side were registered in 1966. Violations of the Soviet-Chinese border by Chinese citizens, particularly the hungweiping, are continuing this year, too. In an interview with Scandinavian journalists on May 17, 1966, Chen Yi (Foreign Affairs Minister, CPR), repeated the Chinese Government groundless claims to 1,540,000 square kilometers of Soviet territory. At the same time the Chinese side refused to renew bilateral consultations between the USSR and the CPR on border questions that were broken off in August, 1964.

As a result of the anti-Soviet course of the present Chinese leadership, the economic ties between the CPR and the USSR have been curtailed to the minimum. In 1965, deliveries

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of Soviet plants to China were completely stopped due to the refusal of the Chinese side. The only form of economic cooperation between the two countries at present is trade, but its volume is steadily decreasing. In 1965, Soviet-Chinese trade amounted to 374 million rubles or about 20% of the 1959 level. The volume of trade in 1966 was 280 million rubles as against 326 million rubles envisaged by the protocol. This was a little over 40% of the volume of trade between the CPR and Japan in 1966. In 1967, the volume of trade turnover, according to the protocol signed in July, 1967, was cut to 240 million rubles at the insistence of the Chinese side. This year there have been many instances of flagrant breaches of CPR foreign trade organizations of the dates and procedure for the delivery of export goods to the USSR. Last August, the Chinese at the Port of Dalny organized the foul provocation against the crew of the Soviet merchant ship "Svirsk." To this day, anti-Soviet provocations against representatives of Soviet trading organizations and ship crews continue. It is the fault of the Peking leaders that at present Soviet-Chinese scientific, technical, and cultural exchanges have been virtually suspended.

Contacts along Party lines have been suspended since the middle of last year owing to the fault of the Chinese side. Last May, the CPC leadership refused to accept a letter of the Central Committee, CPSU, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the Vietnamese question stating that such letters should be sent only to the CPR Foreign Ministry and that any correspondence must be conducted only through official governmental channels. Last August, CHOU En-lai categorically refused to accept the charge d'affaires of the USSR who wanted to present a letter of the Central Committee, CPSU, extending an invitation to send a delegation of the CPC to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

As for contacts from the Chinese side, they come from the level of charges d'affaires, deputy directors of departments of the Foreign Ministry, or other officials of secondary rank.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET-CHINESE
RELATIONS"

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The Plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPSU, held in December, 1966, which discussed the foreign policy of the USSR and the struggle of the CPSU for unity in the communist movement, indicated the need decisively to unmask the anti-Leninist views and the great power nationalist line of the present Chinese leaders.

At the same time, the Plenary meeting reaffirmed our Party's inviolable desire to achieve friendship with the CPC and people of China.

While pursuing a policy of friendship on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU does not ignore the hostile actions of the CPC leadership and will continue to rebuff all provocative sallies of MAO Tse-tung and his entourage.

The CPSU policy approved at the Plenum of December, 1966, was described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who said, "The CPSU will continue undeviatingly to work for friendship and international solidarity with the CPC and with the CPR by laying bare the ideology and policy of the present Chinese leaders which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. We are struggling not against the CPC but for the CPC, for its return to the path of internationalism and its unity with all fraternal Parties on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, the general line of the communist movement.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 12/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Communist Party, USA Members Who Attended Celebration of 50th Anniversary of October Revolution, Moscow, USSR, November, 1967."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period of 12/4-8/67 to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

2-Chicago

(1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-131)

WAB:MDW
(6)

REC 8

DEC 18 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 21 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

December 12, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED
CELEBRATION OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER
REVOLUTION, MOSCOW, USSR, NOVEMBER, 1967

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the early part of November, 1967, a celebration of several days' duration took place in Moscow, USSR, to mark the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution. Among the fraternal delegates from foreign countries who attended these celebrations were the following:

Representing the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) were Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA; Henry Winston, Chairman, CP, USA; James Jackson, Chairman of the International Affairs Department, CP, USA; and, Albert J. Lima, Chairman of the Northern California District and member of the National Executive Board, CP, USA. Also in Moscow at that time were Carl Winter, Editor of "The Worker," (the East Coast communist newspaper) and member of the Secretariat and National Executive Board, CP, USA, who was a guest of "Pravda," official daily organ of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and [redacted] CP, USA National Committee member, also attending the celebration as a guest of the Soviet youth organization, Komsomol. Among the guests of the Soviet Peace Council for the celebration was Herbert Aptheker, CP, USA National Committee member. Traveling with the CP, USA delegation was Juan Santos Rivera, representing the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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downgrading and
declassification~~

100-428091-6638

CP, USA MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED CELEBRATION
OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION,
MOSCOW, USSR, NOVEMBER, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

During the course of his stay in the USSR, Carl Winter suffered a heart attack and has been confined to a hospital in the vicinity of Moscow since about mid-November, 1967. According to the doctors, there is nothing organically wrong with Winter's heart and he is presently undergoing therapy. Winter expects to depart from Moscow for New York City on December 21, 1967.

Juan Santos Rivera also suffered a heart attack and has also been confined to a hospital in the USSR.

Albert J. Lima became ill with influenza during his stay in the USSR and went to a sanitarium to have his condition taken care of. While there, he underwent a complete physical examination which uncovered the fact that Lima has a serious disease of his hearing nerve. He was informed that the cure for this disease requires a four-month course of treatment and unless he obtains this medical treatment he will die of this disease. Subsequently, Lima traveled to Great Britain where he attended the Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain and thence returned to the United States.

Following the celebration, Henry Winston entered Hospital No. 1, which is part of the Kremlin Hospital, located in Kunsova, outside Moscow, USSR, where he is being treated for assorted ills. Winston expected to return to the United States about the end of December, 1967.

During the latter part of November, 1967, Herbert Aptheker departed from the USSR enroute to a peace committee meeting in New Delhi, India. Following this meeting, Aptheker expected to travel to a number of Arab countries and then return to the United States where he expected to arrive about December 8 or 9, 1967.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 12/12/67

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

R. D. Johnson

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies, and for New York one copy, of an informant's statement captioned "JAMES JACKSON."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/4-8/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

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- 1 - 404, 9x9 w/...*
- (3) - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago
 - 1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-130

WAB:mes
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REC 8

100-428091-6639

EX 107

6 DEC 18 1967

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Approved: *ms/ep* Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 21 1967

Special Agent in Charge

*memo CD Bureau to Sub Bureau
12/19/67
RCP: CBT*

JAMES JACKSON

During early November, 1967, while James Jackson, a member of the Secretariat and the National Executive Board, Communist Party (CP), USA, was in Moscow, USSR, to attend as an official CP, USA delegate the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, an article appeared in the November 5, 1967 issue of the New York "Sunday News" entitled "Two Battle to Rule U.S. Red Party." The text of this article was as follows:

"A pitched battle for control of the dissension-riddled U.S. Communist Party will erupt when party boss Gus Hall and leading Negro Red James E. Jackson return from Moscow shortly, highly informed sources told The News today.

"The rivals took their duel to Moscow under the cloak of participating in the 50th anniversary celebration of the Soviet revolution. Jackson jumped the gun on Hall. He took off alone to Moscow, well in advance of Hall and about a dozen of the party faithful, to rally support for his drive to take over the party here on a racist platform.

"Jackson, who is 58, has spent his entire adult life as a communist activist after getting a degree in pharmacy from Howard University here.

"Considers Self Race Expert

"He considers himself to be the American Party's leading theoretician on race relations and could be useful in fomenting civil unrest in this country. Hall, according to sources, hates his guts.

"Chairman Edwin Willis (D-La.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee said last week that there is no doubt that Communist elements 'played a major and key role' in the 1964 Harlem race riots. The Soviets, seeking to exploit racial unrest, prefer Jackson to Hall.

"Jackson, a member of the Communist secretariat and national executive board here, is the former publisher of the party's official organ, The Worker.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6639

"Actions Annoyed Hall

"While editor and publisher, he was known-to Hall's annoyance-to be in frequent contact with Soviet and satellite country representatives.

"What is particularly interesting is that Jackson has now been publicly identified as the secretary of the U.S. Communists' international department and has even traveled to France as an official delegate to the French Commie party's congress,' the sources said.

"While throwing repeated barbs into Hall, Jackson has been making more frequent contacts than ever with the Russians and representatives of other Communist-bloc countries

"The Heir Apparent

"When he returns after the Moscow celebrations, Jackson is expected to be the key liaison man between the U.S. Communist Party and Red bloc delegates at the United Nations.

"Hall will be left out in the cold-with Jackson the heir apparent to the shaky throne.

"It is significant that Jackson's latest book, 'U.S. Negroes in Battle; From Little Rock to Watts,' was published in Russia but not in the U.S.

"It could be inferred that Jackson's assignment on his return could be of even greater interest,' the sources said.

"But they added that the end result will probably be 'greater confusion and disunion' in the U.S. Communist Party.

"The Jackson-Hall feud points up the growing black power movement in the party and the source of Jackson's new-found strength."

This article was clipped from the newspaper by Helen Winter, Secretary of the Organization Commission of the

CP, USA and was mailed to her husband, Carl Winter, Editor of "The Worker" who was also in Moscow for the celebration as a guest of "Pravda," daily newspaper of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU). As a result there was some discussion concerning this article among the American Party delegation (with the exception of Gus Hall, General Secretary, who was not aware of its receipt) and among several members of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU. The American communists concentrated their attention on wondering how anyone had found out that Jackson had departed for the USSR before anyone else, and they were speculating on the purpose of the article. They soon decided that it would not be difficult for the FBI to know when Jackson left for the USSR, but they could arrive at no conclusion regarding the purpose of publishing such an article. The Russians, however, were most upset because of the implications of the article that there is a direct definite connection and liaison between the CP, USA and the CPSU. They indicated that this is precisely the sort of thing which they had previously warned the CP, USA about when Jackson had begun visiting Soviet establishments in the United States. They once again reiterated their request that Gus Hall restrain Jackson's activities in this respect.

During the early part of December, 1967, this matter was discussed with Gus Hall who was now aware of this article. According to Hall, this article is "a lot of bunk" and the FBI is obviously the source of this article because it is the same type of thing that the FBI puts out. He stated that he believes it is an effort by the FBI and/or the right wing to worsen relations between the USA and the USSR by showing that the CP, USA is a stooge of the CPSU. He remarked that at the time of the Senate debate on ratification of the Consular Convention between the USSR and the United States, the FBI had taken a stand as opposed to ratification. But the Consular Convention had been ratified nonetheless. In his opinion, the FBI did not give up trying to prove the connection between the CP, USA and the CPSU in order to thwart the current Administration's efforts to "build bridges" between East and West.

Hall also stated that Jackson has no business making these trips to Soviet establishments and, therefore, the CPSU should be informed that Hall will "keep Jackson out of their hair." Furthermore, Hall instructed that this

article should be transmitted to the CPSU with a note calling attention to certain parts of the article which Hall had underlined which were designed to show the connection between the CPSU and the CP, USA. The underlined sections of the above article are as follows:

- 1) Jackson jumped the gun on Hall. He took off alone to Moscow, well in advance of Hall and about a dozen of the party faithful....
- 2)to be in frequent contact with Soviet and satellite country representatives.
- 3) Jackson has been making more frequent contacts than ever with the Russians and representatives of other Communist-bloc countries.
- 4) Jackson is expected to be the key liaison man between the U.S. Communist Party and Red bloc delegates at the United Nations.

Hall stated that the CPSU should be advised to pay no attention to the remainder of the article but for their information their attention is being called to the underlined portions.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 12/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

REC-1

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "LOUIS WEINSTOCK, FORMER AMERICAN RESIDING IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/8 and 12/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

CG 5824-S* advised that the information concerning WEINSTOCK's activities in the United States was obtained by him in discussions with GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, on 12/7/67.

- 1- 101, 9+0 with 1 page.
 10 (3) - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago.

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC 8

100-428091-6640
DEC 15 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
December 13, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, FORMER AMERICAN
RESIDING IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

U.S.

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Louis Weinstock, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, now resides in Budapest, Hungary. It was recently learned that during early November, 1967, Weinstock attended the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution which was held in Moscow, USSR. Weinstock attended as one of the guests invited as a delegation of persons active in the World Federation of Trade Unions which is headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia (a characterization of which is attached hereto). It is understood that there are some people who are very active in the WFTU who were unable to attend this celebration who were quite angry that Weinstock attended since they do not believe he deserved it on the basis of activities in the WFTU. During the first week in December, 1967, Weinstock returned to the United States and it is the prevailing opinion among the leadership of the CP, USA that the purpose of his trip to the United States was to straighten out some problems having to do with his pension from the painters union. Weinstock had previously indicated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-6640

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, FORMER AMERICAN
RESIDING IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

that he expected to do some work connected with the new daily newspaper being planned by the CP, USA, but he has not done so. Weinstock has stated that he will leave the United States to return to Budapest shortly, since he intends to be in Budapest by Christmas.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, FORMER AMERICAN
RESIDING IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

1. Cited as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years * * *."
"American supporters include the left-wing unions within the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 1.)

2. Cited as "Communist-dominated."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p.93, also p.59.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/8/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and one copy for the Chicago Office, of an LHM entitled "The Splitting Activity of the Chinese Leadership in the World Communist Movement."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was originally furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period 12/4-5/67 to SAS WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMORE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "Confidential" since unauthorized disclosure of this information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international Communist movement and thus adversely affect our national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.

During the course of the 50th Anniversary Celebration in Moscow and the CPUSA delegation's stay in Moscow, there were furnished for their review a number of documents considered

- 1 - 904 960 with Encl.
 3 - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

RAV:msb
 (6)

REC-42

DEC 18 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 9 - 1968

NY 100-134637

to be of a highly confidential nature. These documents were given to CG 5824-S* to act as custodian for the documents among the CPUSA delegation. It is likely that other delegations to the celebration were also furnished copies of the same document in various languages. Source advised that it is possible that from 200 to 300 people may have observed these documents. Source made notes from the document, from which he furnished a substantially verbatim text.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.
December 8, 1967

~~Confidential~~

The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
Leadership in the World Communist Movement

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in December 1967, advised as follows:

During November 1967, a document considered highly confidential, entitled "The Splitting Activity of the Chinese Leadership in the World Communist Movement," was circulated among the visiting Communist Party (CP) delegations to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of the document:

Stubbornly adhering to its great-power nationalistic course, the MAO Tse-tung (Chairman) Communist Party of China (CPC), group is conducting vigorous splitting activities in different parts of the world directed against the socialist countries and the entire world Communist movement. In foreign policy, the purpose of this activity is to push world developments toward international crisis and conflicts, towards exacerbation of tension, which in the long run may lead to another world war. In the field of world revolutionary and national liberation movement, the Chinese leadership is seeking the implant of the thesis about the existence of a "magnificent revolutionary situation" and the necessity of unleashing "people's wars" in all parts of the world. The Chinese leadership rejects as "revisionism" the entire strategy and tactics of the Communist movement aimed at using the broad arsenal of means on revolutionary struggle in conformity with the given situation. ^{It is clear now that} Chinese leaders have given up basic tenets of the 1957-1960 documents of world movement. The 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPC, in August 1966, officially endorsed and approved the splitting activity of the MAO Tse-tung group and called on all its supporters in other countries "to bring the struggle" against the Communist parties "to the victorious end."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
Leadership in the World Communist Movement

These groupings following the CPC impede the revolutionary struggle of the Communist and anti-imperialist forces. Under MAC they counterpose themselves to Communist parties and national liberation and the working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national democratic forces who are seeking cooperation and alliances with the socialist world.

The CPC entire propaganda machine is geared to conduct subversive activities in the world revolutionary movement. Information is available that Peking annually spends about \$460,000,000.00 on propaganda in Europe alone.

Radio Peking broadcasts one thousand hours a week in its propaganda campaign against the world Communist movement, 57 per cent of these programs being to Southeast Asia and the Far East. Chinese leaders have enlarged broadcasts to Africa--they use the Tirana radio station which calls itself "Radio Peking."

Chinese diplomatic and trade missions in different countries, as well as all kinds of Chinese delegations abroad, are vehicles for Peking splitting and subversive activities. The Hsinua News Agency overseas is an important arm of Peking in these activities.

The Embassies of the Chinese Peoples Republic in Switzerland and France coordinate the activities of the pro-Chinese groups in Western Europe and Latin America. They are the headquarters of subversive splitting activities.

Peking enlists the help of these splitting-off groups in capitalistic publishing houses in this purpose (Italy, Argentina and Belgium). In a number of countries, particularly in Asia and Latin America, the CPC uses extensively Chinese emigres. The CPC establishes contact with hostile parties to Communism, particularly with Trotskyites and even with police organizations.

Having failed to foist their anti-Leninist views on the world Communist movement, the Chinese leaders have turned to splitting activities, they are setting up factions to exert pressure on and struggle against the Communist parties. With the support of Chinese leadership, anti-Party factions

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were set up in more than 30 capitalist countries. The majority of the pro-Peking organizations in capitalist countries have a very small membership and are split up into tiny groups. They vie with each other in the fight for the "right" to receive financial assistance from the CPC, their only source of assistance.

In Switzerland, for example, in addition to the so-called Swiss CP (about 30 members) set up in Vevey in 1963, there are: "The Lenin Centre" in Lausanne (15-20 members) led by Anderson, head of "Cite," a small publishing enterprise which issues a sheet called "October" on money received from the Chinese Peoples Republic (CPR). (In the beginning of 1967, the Swiss government expelled Anderson, a Swedish subject, from the country, "for carrying on activity impermissible for a foreigner."); the Rosa Luxemburg Cell (8 members), which has broken away from the "Centre" and is laying claim to the name of "true" Marxists of the Pro-Chinese trend; and finally, a group of 12 people formed in Geneva by Luzelschwab, a former worker of "Voix-Qurier," organ of the Swiss Party of Labour.

In France, the small Marxist-Leninist centre, which likewise receives aid from Peking, had a split in 1966 (about 1,000 members). In Italy, three pro-Chinese groups did not send their representatives to the Congress of splitters which was held in Livorne (about 100 people). Several pro-Chinese organizations are functioning in the USA, Columbia, Canada, Argentina, Mexico and other countries.

In Austria, the small group of Franz Strobl (30-40 members) is split because of internal discord. The splitter Communist Party of Belgium (about 400 members), set up in 1963 by Jacques Grippa, is in a state of constant internal dissension. Some of Grippa's closest friends and founders have already been "expelled" from his party. In the beginning of 1966, a quarrel split the Peruvian pro-Chinese groups. They published two separate newspapers and have separate "chiefs", one is called J. Sotomayer, who heads a "Peruvian Communist Party," and S. Paredes, who heads another

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
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"Peruvian Communist Party." They carry on intrigue against each other in an effort to win bigger support from the Chinese.

Splitter groups in other countries as a rule have a membership of not more than 5-20 persons. It is such groups and "parties", according to Peking propaganda, that are the "guiding revolutionary nucleus in these countries and personify the future and the hope of their people."

Who are some of the people that act as paid agents of the leadership of the CPC in the world Communist movement? Most are expelled former Party members, factionalists and adventurers, types like G. Amazonas and M. Grabois (formerly Brazilian CP) or Belgium J. Grippa and the Austrian F. Strobl; the semi-literate and unscrupulous Swiss Billiard and J. Jearquet (who was expelled from the French CP for moral degradation); the former member of the Mexican CP who has ties with the police; Shanmuzathusan, former member, Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Ceylonese CP, who receives a monthly handout from China, and Kumarusi, his recent right-hand man, who boasted that since 1956 he has been actively defending the policy of class collaboration campaigning against strikes and other forms of struggle.

Politically immature people, with a vague knowledge of the theory and practice of Communism, as a rule, group around such "leaders." Many are remote from Marxism, which is why they fall for or join the Chinese. Many of them are morally degraded and political renegades. The splitters group include no few Trotskyite elements.

Some, as "L'Humanite," wrote are sons of the rich who thirst for "revolution," but by tomorrow can rejoin their father's business. Their propaganda and activity is financed by the MAO Tse-tung group.

Money is the magnet which is used to attract all sorts of adventurers and morally corrupt people into the split group. In Ceylon, one splitter had his debt of 5,000 rupees paid for him.

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The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
Leadership in the World Communist Movement

In Italy, the Chinese allot 700,000 lire to support a so-called Marxist-Leninist Circle. Brussels is being turned into an "international center" of the pro-Chinese movement. Some sources say the Grippa group annually receive 30,000 pounds.

None of the splitter groups has an independent program. They are merely propagating ideas given to them by Peking. The French splitters in "L'Humanite Nouvelle" said MAO Tse-tung is the Lenin of today. All Marxists-Leninists by means of persuasion have to popularize, propagate and elucidate the works of MAO Tse-tung. The pro-Chinese groups are completely divorced from the working class. They have no mass campaign to win something for daily living for the working people.

Peking spends millions for so-called "independent publications," which they circulate free of charge. They, the pro-Chinese splitters, have three publishing houses in Argentina, a number in Belgium, France and Italy.

At the 18th Congress of the French CP, it was exposed that splitter pro-Chinese groups in the Bouches-du-Rhone Department have a bank account of about 100 million old francs. They use this money to publish a weekly, practically no one buys it so they distribute it free of charge, as they do books and pamphlets. This shows the importance Peking attaches to the ideological expansion of "Maoism."

The pro-Chinese splitters resort to slander, falsification, blackmail, bribery, threats, and even banditry in their struggle against the fraternal parties. In France and Belgium, these splitters organize provocations to disrupt the workers movement. In Belgium, they murdered comrade M. Seys in May 1965. In Peru they carried out armed raids against the CP. In Columbia the factionalists "improved" their financial position by robbing peasants.

In Indonesia, there is information that those who undermine the CP of Indonesia are getting rid of members who do not think as they do by betraying them to the police.

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The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
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In Sudan, in November 1965, pro-Peking splitters came out with an anti-Islamic statement. This deliberate provocative act gave reactionary forces the pretext to launch an attack on a large-scale campaign against the Sudanese CP and the government adopted a law banning the CP. In January 1967, a group of splitters was arrested in Milan on charges of planning to blow up the United States Consulate and also a NATO barracks in the town of Vicenza. Such actions can cause no harm to imperialism, but led only to repressions against the Communists and other democratic organizations. This fanatical activity of the pro-Chinese chiefly harms the working class.

This is very vivid in India, where the CPC has been interfering openly in the internal affairs of the CP of India. Meddling has brought about a split with the setup of a Parliament party as the "True Marxists-Leninists," while naming the CP of India the "Dange Revisionist Group." Peking and pro-Chinese leftists are pushing a Parliament party to armed struggle. This has split the pro-Chinese Parliament party. At present, the extremist leaders of the pro-Chinese party refuse all cooperation with the CP of India in joint actions.

The imperialists are using the subversive activity of the Chinese leaders in their struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties. Even in West Germany, Spain and Latin America, these groups have a free hand, while the real CP's are banned. In Bolivia, the military junta allowed the factional group to bring into the country printing equipment purchased with Chinese money and to start publishing a daily which attacked the CP of Bolivia. These groups have no real contact or leadership within the organized labor movement or amongst the masses. The constant wrangling prompted Peking to organize an international center. The International conferences were held in France and Italy in 1966. French splitters took the lead in trying to merge the splinters before the end of the year. The Albanian Party of Labor is rendering these groups help, also trying to get them to stop their wrangling.

Peking-supported groups now have the objective of working in the progressive and democratic movements to win leadership and control. They are counting on influencing leaders of "intermediary links" and the rank-and-file, counting on their insufficient grounding in Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist-Leninist circles in France have instructed followers

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The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
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to continue working inside the CP to fight within, in disguised ways, against bourgeoisification of the French CP.

The Chinese leaders conducted such a struggle inside the CP of Japan (CPJ). In March 1966, when the Japanese delegation headed by K. Miyamoto (Secretary General, CPJ) was in China, MAO Tse-tung rejected the Japan CP's slogan calling for the "formation of a united international anti-imperialist front with the participation of the Chinese Peoples Republic, the USSR and other countries." The CPJ refused to sign the communique when this slogan was rejected.

With Peking's help, expelled Japanese Communists set up several "Party organizations," including a "Communist Party of Japan (Liberation Front)." They also set up an institute for studying the ideas of MAO Tse-tung and other organizations to carry on subversive work against the CP of Japan. In addition, secret pro-Chinese groups worked inside the progressive organizations exposing the "revisionism" of the CPJ leaders. "Jen Min Jih Pao," mouthpiece of MAO, openly calls for "smashing the leadership of the CPJ." Peking also is active in youth organizations around the world, there are such groups in Italy, France, Belgium, Austria and other countries. They publish bulletins and other publications designed to influence the youth. The slogans of the "cultural revolution" to infuse fresh strength into the "decrepit" parties. The Chinese keep repeating that the youth is the compass of the revolution. Chinese people have no information about world events and they are constantly fed the idea that MAO's policies have "universal approval." The speeches of renegades are offered as proof that "MAO's ideas" have conquered.

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor held in November 1961 was to have been a review of these Peking supporters--splitters. From twenty countries were represented, as well as representatives from the CPC--Romania and New Zealand, and emigre groups from Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. The majority were people unknown to their people, let alone unknown in the world movement.

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The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
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Peking attached great significance to this meeting by sending Kang Sheng (member of the Political Bureau, CPC), who headed the CPC delegation. After reading a telegram from MAO Tse-tung, he devoted a considerable part of the speech to lauding "proletarian revolutionary parties of a new type."

There are grounds to believe that the effort to create a "Maoist international" failed. These groups are not yet organizationally united.

At the end of June 1967, another effort at a conference in Krems, Austria, was attempted by groups from Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, France and Switzerland to set up a pro-Chinese centre in Vienna to coordinate activities and publications. Strobl visited Albania and was received by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary, CP of Albania. It is known that Strobl was promised 800,000 shillings to buy printing equipment.

Another meeting was planned for Peking, but after polling the participants, the MAO Tse-tung leader decided to temporarily postpone it. It was postponed for the following reasons: (1) "Cultural revolution" stalled (better to call such a meeting after "difficulties have been completely eliminated"); (2) Wanted representation from national liberation groups as observers, the steps to get attendance not yet completed; (3) Many splitter groups suggested postponement of this international meeting in Peking until the conference of the world Communist Parties is held, so as to be able "to clearly formulate the tasks and chart the ways of struggle against revisionism."

It is clear now that the MAO Tse-tung group would have carried out its threat to disassociate itself from the Marxist-Leninist parties a long time ago if it had succeeded in convening a sufficiently representative meeting.

The setting up in Peking of the "International Hungweiping Headquarters" is made up to give the foreign renegades who reside in Peking, after breaking away from the genuine revolutionary forces in the world, a platform to sing statements of praise to MAO and to invent fables about the "victorious march of his ideas in the world." Anna Louise Strong works out of this headquarters, and uses her "letter" for this purpose.

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The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
Leadership in the World Communist Movement

The MAO group wants to spread the slogans and methods of the so-called cultural revolution to the international arena. Chen Yi, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, CPC, and Foreign Minister of the CPR, declared in an official speech that the "cultural revolution" is a "great beginning in the world Communist movement."

The Peking leaders are doing their utmost to discredit the efficient support and assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other countries to the Vietnam people. The Chinese categorically rejected "joint action" and say that "anyone who insists on joint action" with the CPSU is "unequivocally at one with imperialism." Peking demands complete disassociation from the Soviet Union and complete guidance from Peking.

Peking also rejected the proposals of the countries who took part in the Karlovy Vary Conference in cooperation of all the workers and CP's, including the CPC. "Jin Min Jih Pao" branded all participants as traitors.

The imperialists are applauding the actions of the CPC leadership and consider the enmity of the Chinese towards the Marxist-Leninist Party is "stronger than the rivalry between Communism and capitalism," and that, like the MAO Tse-tung group, creates the possibility to putting an end to world Communism forever.

The MAO group is isolated politically from the world movement. Seventy CP's have condemned the great-power anti-Soviet line of the CPC and its splitting efforts. Most CP's have vigorously condemned the "leftism of Peking supporters and expelled those who persist in their factionalism and splitting." Also, most CP's now pay attention to the concrete activities of these pro-Chinese groups and expose them. Some parties have taken action to break up these groups at public gatherings.

The main task is political explanatory work to expose the Chinese leaders and their dupes. Most parties are publishing articles, pamphlets and other documents to explain or expose Maoism. Most parties show how the line of MAO Tse-tung is against Marxism-Leninism, against people, against the interests of the people's revolutionary struggle, and against the interests of socialism.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Splitting Activity of the Chinese
Leadership in the World Communist Movement

All parties and progressive organizations are taking steps to irradiate the consequences of Maoism and to strengthen the unity of all contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 12/14/67

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Remylet 11/2/67, advising that NY 694-S* had agreed that a hidden safe be installed in his home as a depository for \$50,000.00 in cash, which would be at all times available to him, in the event GUS HALL should make a demand for an immediate delivery of money. Relet also reflected that the NYO planned to make a survey of NY 694-S*'s home to determine the cost of installation of such a safe. Q

As yet, it has not been possible to make the necessary survey because of major constructional changes being made in the informant's home--from cellar to roof. It is anticipated that this work will not be completed before the end of January, 1968.

The Bureau will be advised as soon as the desired survey is made.

- 1- 904,948
② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - New York (41)

ACB:msb
(4)

EX-103

100-428091-6642

REC 3 6 DEC 19 1967

5- [Signature]



ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

12/18/67

REC 67
Director, FBI (100-428091) 6643

1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

EX-103
SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

Burelets 12/5/67 and 12/12/67, which requested
[redacted] authority to contact and interview [redacted]

b6
b7C

In view of the fact that [redacted] is a student,
authority to contact him at this time is denied. If
circumstances change, you may desire to resubmit your
request in six months.

b6
b7C

RCP:cst
(5)

NOTE:

New York picked [redacted] as a possible PSI because
of qualities which could make him eligible for utilization
in the Solo Operation. [redacted] is a graduate student and
has been one for some time. He has had a varied and extensive
background in subversive groups, including Trotskyite groups.
He is [redacted] of the National Council of American-
Soviet Friendship and has been very active in anti-Vietnam
demonstrations. He was associated with the [redacted]
Defense Committee, which was formed to aid three American
soldiers who refused to serve in Vietnam. Interview at this
time could be embarrassing to the Bureau. If the climate
changes, consideration should be given to an interview at
that time.

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Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

67 DEC 22 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE ON ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 12/12/67

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION
PROGRAM)

ReBulet, 12/12/67.

On 12/12/67, SA [redacted] in the guise of a former fellow graduate student of the subject at Columbia University, telephonically contacted a female individual at the subject's residence who advised that she was the subject's wife.

MRS. [redacted] advised that the subject had completed his masters degree requirements at Columbia University and was now taking "a couple" of courses in pursuit of a doctorate degree at New York University. The indication was that [redacted] was devoting a bare minimum of time to studies.

If authority is granted to contact and interview [redacted] the interview will be conducted well away from the NYU campus and no reference will be made to his student status.

EX-103

REC 67 100-428091-6643

DEC 20 1967

1-904, 94.0

- (2) - Bureau (RM) -
- 1 - New York (100-134687-Sub C) (SOLO) (47)
- 1 - New York [redacted]
- 1 - New York [redacted]

RJQ:rmp
(5)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/15/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 12/14/67, NY 694-S* furnished the following information:

On 12/13/67, GUS HALL telephonically advised the source that he had several messages which he desired to be transmitted to the Soviets and suggested that NY 694-S* and the latter's wife come to HALL's home on that date for dinner, at which time HALL would deliver to the source the aforementioned messages.

The source and his wife arrived at the HALL home sometime before HALL himself arrived at 9:00 p.m. [redacted] arrived, another dinner guest came in - (Bufile 100-361072), who is reportedly HALL's contact with the higher echelons of the Democratic Party. When NY 694-S* is at GUS HALL's home, the latter and his wife do not formally introduce him to the other guests. The same situation prevailed in this instance and

3-Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (AM RM)
1-NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1-NY 105-14931-Sub C (TALANOV) (341)
1-NY 100-134637) (41)

ACB:eac
(8)

11 DEC 21 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

67 DEC 22 1967

NY 100-134637

there was merely an exchange of greetings, without mention of names. Although he already knew the identity of [redacted] NY 694-S* pretended not to and casually said to [redacted] "What did you say your name is?". [redacted] replied, "Archie".

Later, when NY 694-S* was alone for a minute with HALL, he asked the latter, "Who is this 'guy'?" The informant really did not expect HALL to give him an honest answer and was surprised when HALL hastily scribbled on a piece of paper which he handed to NY 694-S*, "This is the man that got MC CARTHY (Senator EUGENE MC CARTHY) to run in the primaries".

Sometime later HALL and [redacted] conferred privately for about 15 minutes. Before NY 694-S* and his wife left the HALL home at midnight, HALL gave the source the material he desired to be transmitted via the Solo apparatus to Moscow. He said, "I have something else to tell them (the Soviets). MC CARTHY is going to Moscow in February. I discussed this with them (the Soviets) over there and it's all right with them." HALL then hesitated, was silent for a moment, and finally said, "No, I won't send this over just yet."

In reporting the above, NY 694-S* stated that, referring recently to [redacted] ARNOLD JOHNSON had commented that [redacted] is "on the fringe of the 'Dump Johnson' movement".

On 12/14/67, there were transmitted to the Soviets, via a New York City drop, several partially coded messages, the plain texts of which were as follows:

1. "CC-CPSU

[redacted] is being called to your attention for immediate consideration for position as stylist and translator, in accordance with your request for same. Because of time element involved, following is brief description of [redacted] his family, and his work.

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[redacted] resides at [redacted] Havana, Cuba. He is 43 years old, and was born in the USA. His wife is [redacted] 46

b6
b7C

NY 100-134637

"[redacted] was born in Poland, and a USA citizen. His [redacted] [redacted] was born in Cuba. His 78 year old [redacted] a USSR national, came to the USA in 1922. She is a member of his household.

b6
b7C

[redacted] has a Bachelor of Arts degree from New York University and did graduate work at Columbia University, having a fellowship there in language studies. He speaks and writes Russian fluently. At present he teaches philosophy at Havana University. He has been in Cuba for several years, and previously lived in British Guiana when CHEDDI JAGAN was Premier of that country.

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b7C

"Some years ago, while in Cuba, he was offered a two year contract by the Chinese to do editorial work for the Peking Review. This was at a time prior to the open ideological dispute, when he was more or less isolated in Cuba. With the approval of Cuban authorities at the time, he went to Peking, and accepted the offered position.

"In the course of his work, he observed, and called to the attention of the Chinese, that the Peking Review dishonestly was deliberately misquoting the Soviet leaders. He was told that this was no concern of his, that he was not a policy maker but a translator, and should not interfere in what was not his business. After 8 months of such conflict with the Peking Review, he found it impossible to continue to work for that publication, and resigned. He returned to Havana, and resumed teaching philosophy at Havana University, where he is now.

"Two months ago, he was advised that his contract to teach at Havana University would not be renewed. He has not been told the reason, but has valid grounds to believe that the reason is his Soviet sympathy and viewpoint.

"He cannot return to the USA because in 1940, when USA policy was in conflict with USSR policy, he avoided induction into the US Army. As a result, he is in fugitive status, and he and his family cannot return to the USA. They would like to settle permanently in USSR.

NY 100-134637

"In view of the above, it seems evident that [redacted] could be most useful to USSR as stylist, translator or teacher.

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"While in the USA, [redacted] was in excellent standing in CP, USA. His [redacted] who is a USSR National, resides with him, and depends upon him for support, and whose loyalty is unquestioned, would desire to be with him in USSR."

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b7C

Re above, see NY airtel 7/18/67.

2.

"12/12/1967

"RECEIPT:

"\$500,000.00

"JACK BROOKS"

Re above, see NY airtel 12/4/67.

3. "From now on please insert in the open code the name of Senator EUGENE MC CARTHY of Minnesota who will oppose President JOHNSON in the forthcoming presidential primaries in 1968. He will be known in the open code as Tern repeat Tern."

4. "CCCPSU

"Mailing to you for your reading, by fastest possible way, airmail, the book 'The Crisis of the Negro Intellectuals' by KRUSE. Published by William Morrow Co.

"GUS HALL"

Re above, CG 5824-S* has been advised that GUS HALL desires the above-described book to be sent to Moscow.

NY 100-134637

5. "CCCPSU

"If possible it would be good that from now on you use this final revision of this text instead of the draft which I left in USSR.

"GUS HALL"

Re above, see NY airtel 10/12/67, reflecting GUS HALL would be a leading participant at a November, 1967 seminar in Moscow of The Institute of International Workers Movement. There followed the text of a 12 page revised text of a speech delivered by GUS HALL at a November, 1967 seminar in Moscow at The Institute of International Workers Movement. The original is being furnished to the Bureau, with a Xerox copy being furnished to Chicago as an enclosure.

6. "Drop Rita next. If unavailable, use Drop Fay."

In view of the implications in the ALBERT matter, NY requests that the Bureau determine whether or not this information should be furnished to Los Angeles, the office of origin, and to Washington Field, which has an interest in the case, in that ALBERT reportedly is spending considerable time in Washington, D.C.

IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

By Gus Hall

It is a great pleasure and honor to be able to take part in this conference. I am convinced this gathering will make significant contributions to the struggle against imperialism. I want to commend the Institute of the World Labor Movement for its initiative in calling this gathering.

And in keeping with the spirit of this initiative, I ask you not to view my remarks as constituting a fully elaborated thesis, or even as a projection of rounded-out thoughts. They are intended only as some thoughts--some facts--about areas we should probe together.

Let us probe not for the purpose of proving or disproving specific formulations, but rather in the spirit of a deeper understanding--especially of that which is new. Let us probe so as to achieve greater unity. Let us probe to raise our effectiveness in the struggle against imperialism.

Contradictions in the Imperialist Camp

To speak about world imperialism is to speak of U.S. imperialism in the first place. To speak about the struggle against world imperialism is to speak about the struggle against U.S. imperialism above all else. To weaken, to defeat world imperialism is to smash the tentacles of U.S. imperialism.

To view the struggle against world imperialism from this point of reference, is not to say that only U.S. imperialism is the enemy and the rest of imperialism is not. It is not to say the danger of aggression is limited to U.S. imperialism. To dismiss lightly West German, Japanese, British or Portuguese imperialism as representing well-meaning but misguided souls, would be to play into the hands of world imperialism.

To make use of the divisions and contradictions in the ranks of world imperialism is not to assist in the redivision of the spoils, but rather serves to weaken--to destroy--world imperialism. Much has been said about U.S. domination of the capitalist world. What has been said is correct. However, amongst the areas that now need probing by us are the weaknesses, the contradictions that are developing because of that unprecedented one-nation domination. These contradictions are now at a level where they are a cardinal element of the world scene. This one-nation domination is developing the instability of a pyramid that has been turned to stand on its apex. It may be that, as in a building standing on an unstable foundation, the props may fall before the building comes down, but it is still necessary to undermine its underpinnings.

My remarks will therefore seek to probe the instability, the contradictions and weaknesses at the core of world imperialism, namely, those of U.S. imperialism. Before going into some of these matters, however, allow me to say a few words about the over-all assessment of the world scene.

The Present Epoch: Has History Been Reversed?

The continuing escalation of the criminal war against the people of Vietnam, the U.S.-Israeli aggression against the peoples of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, the increased efforts to recolonize Africa, the continued active policy of aggression against Cuba, and the over-all escalation of the U.S. policy of aggression, have heightened world tensions and greatly increased the danger of a world war with all its consequences. Besides this, there have been setbacks in a number of areas, including Indonesia, Ghana, Greece and others. Also, some weaknesses in the anti-imperialist forces have developed. Amongst these the most serious case is the internal developments in the People's Republic of China, whose effect has been to impair the strength of the forces of anti-imperialism.

What should be our conclusions from all this? Should we now conclude that the world revolutionary process has been reversed or side-tracked? Or should we conclude that the estimate of world forces and the nature of the present epoch was premature, or that the new epoch has been eclipsed by a resurgence of world imperialism?

We believe such conclusions would be erroneous. It would be basing long-term estimates on short-term shifts. It would be confusing the surface waves on a body of water with the direction of its flow.

On this matter, Lenin can be very helpful. He said:

... Marx's method consists, first of all, in taking due account of the objective content of a historical process at a given moment, in definite and concrete conditions; this is in order to realize, in the first place, the movement of which class is the mainspring of the progress possible in those concrete conditions. (Collected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. 21, p. 143.)

He said further:

... Here we have important historical epochs; in each of them there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward, now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc. Only on that basis, i.e., by taking into account in the first place, the fundamental distinctive features of the various "epochs" (and not single episodes in the history of individual countries), can we correctly evolve our tactics; only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another. (Ibid, p. 145.)

In this light, such negative conclusions as the above would not only be erroneous but would also be a one-sided estimate of the present-day facts. Besides the negative developments, there have also been positive developments. I will speak about them.

It seems to us that a realistic conclusion should be the following:

Yes, the crisis of imperialism has greatly sharpened all relationships. The dangers of world war have increased. But the forces of imperialism have not gained new strength. Imperialism is facing serious new difficulties. The dangers have increased but the opportunities for victories over imperialism have also greatly increased. That is the two-sided nature of all critical moments.

New Openings for Victory

The second area of collective probing would be whether we are fully geared to the new possibilities, whether we are taking full advantage of new openings, whether our tactics and the forms of mass struggle are up-to-date.

Comrades and friends, we all know the penalties of underestimating the strength of a foe. But we also know what it is not to see its weakness, not to see the opportunities for victories. I do not want to create illusions about U.S. imperialism--it is an ugly foe, resourceful and wily--but we are convinced that the possibilities of forcing U.S. imperialism to retreat have greatly increased. And forcing it to retreat is the beginning of its end.

Before discussing the developments at home, permit me to say a few words about the nature of its problems in the world.

The successive steps of escalation were not parts of a strategic plan of conquest by U.S. forces in Vietnam. On the contrary, each step of escalation has been taken to cover up the miscalculation of the previous step. Because of the heroic struggles of the people of Vietnam, for U.S. imperialism the "conquest" that was to be won by a few puppet troops with a few U.S. "advisors" has turned into a major

war, with serious internal consequences. It is a war U.S. imperialism cannot win. It is the most unpopular war in our country's history. On all past world conflicts U.S. capitalism made money. They were profitable ventures. But the cost of the aggression against Vietnam cannot be transferred to some allies. Sections of monopoly capital are angry not because there is war, but because President Johnson has permitted it to become "an American war" -- with the U.S. paying the costs.

In spite of the military setbacks and temporary loss of territory suffered by the Arab countries, U.S. imperialism has not come out with a strengthened position in the Middle East. The main aim of the aggression was to overthrow the anti-imperialist governments of Syria and Egypt. This did not happen. Instead, the act of aggression did much to expose to millions the nature of U.S. imperialism. It became more isolated than ever. The oil monopolies are not at all happy with the outcome.

Further, there are some other new stresses and strains within the world imperialist pyramid. As we know, the struggle between imperialist powers to redivide their holdings is a cardinal feature of imperialism. Imperialist wars are wars of redivision and imperialist periods of peace are also periods of redivision. In the United States we have a replica of this phenomenon in the continuous campaign of murders and bombings between gangster syndicates. It is a struggle for a redivision of gangster holdings, on a national level.

The Second World War resulted in a number of historic changes in the correlation of world forces. It acted as a trigger that released forces that had accumulated and gathered force. These shifts greatly accelerated the world revolutionary process. They pushed the general crisis of capitalism to a new stage.

If the war had been only a war between opposing imperialist blocs--the peace would have been an imperialist peace. What made the qualitative difference, of course, was the world role of the Soviet Union. It became the main force for destroying the most reactionary salient of imperialism--the fascist axis--and it also became the stimulant, the arsenal and the armed guard--the force that held back the forces of capitalism while the forces of national liberation and socialism marched to new victories. This was true for Europe as it was for Asia.

Redivision of Imperialist Holdings

The war resulted in the smashing of the military machine of the fascist axis powers. The war set the stage for a struggle that disintegrated the old colonial powers. But it also resulted in a redivision of holdings of the capitalist powers. The old imperialist powers were forced to retreat. They did not give up their aggressive ambitions. They did not change. But they did retreat. The retreat developed into a rout. We should not forget this experience.

The retreat resulted from the shift in the balance of world relationships. But it also provided U.S. imperialism with an opportunity to move in on world capitalism. The weakened industrial capitalist states needed capital for postwar reconstruction. U.S. imperialism was glad to be of service--of course, for a price.

This was a process of redivision. But each redivision also sets the stage for a new struggle between the imperialist powers. The redivision after World War II was no ordinary shift. It resulted in the remaking of the capitalist world relationships. In place of an axis or an alliance of capitalist powers, the world faced a capitalist world in which one country had become the dominant force.

U.S. imperialism became the top dog on the pyramid of world imperialism. NATO, SEATO, CENTO were set up as instruments of U.S. domination and aggression over the non-socialist world just as much as they were instruments of aggression against the socialist world. Following this major reshuffle, for a period, world imperialism settled down to a shaky existence of accommodation to a reality of U.S. domination. This period was further firmed up by the effects of postwar reconstruction as well as by the technological revolution. This gave the industrial capitalist powers a relatively long period of favorable economic development.

The capitalist countries needed capital for postwar reconstruction: the United States had huge accumulated stockpiles of unused capital. These factors and the stability of U.S. internal developments were the underpinnings of a period of economic expansion in the camp of postwar world imperialism.

U.S. monopoly capital, to be sure, took full advantage of the situation to strengthen its dominance over its rivals. This it did through the Marshall Plan, which based assistance to the other capitalist countries on their readiness to make further concessions and accept a position of increased subservience to U.S. imperialism.

Thus, U.S. imperialism became the "savior" of world capitalism. It became the "guardian" that stole and robbed while it protected. It saved world capitalism for U.S. imperialism. While it was protecting, it became a power with the largest imperialist holdings in world history.

But these relationships of accommodation to a one-nation domination had within them the seeds of their destruction. The other capitalist countries, having overcome the ravages of war, entered into a period of rapid growth and expansion. With this, the U.S. share of production and trade in the capitalist world declined. A chronic balance of payments deficit set in, and the dollar lost its charmed status. The antagonisms in the imperialist camp grew sharper and the centrifugal forces within it increased.

U.S. Invades Its Capitalist Rivals

To this situation, U.S. imperialism reacted with a new offensive of its own. Not satisfied with grabbing industrially underdeveloped areas from the old colonial empires, it moved into the industrial centers. It penetrated them as a virus penetrates the host cell. There it feeds on the host, saps its strength and finally eliminates it from the body of economic structure.

For all of the major industrial capitalist nations, U.S. imperialism has now become a rival at home, a domestic foe as well as a foreign competitor.

U.S. corporations are now the direct exploiters of tens of millions of workers in all of the leading capitalist countries. They are a direct challenge to the existence of millions of small- and medium-size businesses in all capitalist countries. U.S. imperialism has become a major factor in banking, manufacturing and retail merchandising in all of the capitalist countries.

In these operations, it is willing to take local partners-in-crime. But it wants silent, permissive partners. As is the rule within U.S. corporations, U.S. imperialism wants a "controlling interest" in the capitalist world.

U.S. production in other countries has now become a major factor in its imperialist operations. It is now estimated by a U.S. Congressional Committee that U.S.-owned production facilities in other countries annually turn out 150 billion dollars worth of products. U.S. exports from its domestic factories amount to 30 billion dollars. (U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, "U.S. Exports and U.S. Production Abroad," August 11, 1967.) In other words, U.S. capitalism produced in its foreign factories five times the amount it exports from its domestic factories. One firm, the General Electric Corporation, has production facilities in over 100 countries of the world. For an increasing number of corporations, domestic production has now become smaller than production abroad.

During the postwar years this new twist to interimperialist relations and the struggle for redivision of holdings generally have not emerged as sharply as they do now. Postwar reconstruction, the technological revolution and other factors tended to ease these contradictions and to soften the contradictions arising from one-nation domination.

Centrifugal Tendencies

But now we are in a new phase of these contradictions. The centrifugal forces generated by bourgeois national interests are increasingly weakening the threads that hold the capitalist world together. U.S. imperialism is losing its grip on the pinnacle of the pyramid of world capitalism. There are cracks in the sides of the pyramid.

The devaluation of the British pound is the latest and most disturbing of these. It has had wide repercussions, among them a weakening of the position of the dollar. And the challenges to U.S. domination are growing.

As U.S. imperialism sinks into the quagmire of its brutal aggression in Vietnam, the centrifugal forces within the capitalist world gain new strength, and the pressures for redistribution become ever greater. This new element of inter-imperialist contradictions that was a source of U.S. strength in the postwar years has now turned into its Achilles heel. The tendency towards U.S. isolation has its roots in this development. The rising curve of anti-U.S. sentiment in the world is fed by this contradiction.

As we know, there have been other moments in history when the specific national interests of the capitalist class overshadow the over-all world-wide class interests of capitalism. This does not mean that broader, world-wide class interests have disappeared. It means that for the moment the contradiction within the global class has greater force than the appeal for class unity.

This contradiction takes on a qualitatively new significance when it is seen in the context of, and in relation to, the existence of the world system of socialism and the rising national liberation movements. In fact, the divisions show themselves over the question of how to relate to the reality of the present-day world revolutionary process.

It seems to me this new factor must of necessity be taken into account in the struggle against imperialism in general--and especially in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Centrifugal forces are forces of dispersal. While the centrifugal forces tend specifically to pull away from the U.S. imperialist orbit, their over-all effect will be to weaken the position of imperialism in general.

This specific phase of relations within the capitalist world has direct significance for the struggle to drive the forces of U.S. imperialism out of Vietnam. The inability of U.S. capitalism to acquire other major partners of crime in its aggression against Vietnam is a reflection of the centrifugal pulls within the imperialist camp. This inability to win others has been a very positive factor internally in our struggle against the war policy. The charge that Johnson has permitted the war to become "an American war" is now a central issue in the coming elections.

There are a number of economic developments that are feeding these centrifugal forces within the imperialist pyramid. It is now quite clear that the momentum resulting from the postwar reconstruction and the subsequent boom has run its course. Because of this, there is now a slowing down in the economic growth rate in most of the capitalist countries. The period of economic slowdown or stagnation tend to get longer. Increasingly, because of this, the capitalist countries cannot rely on the expansion of capital outlays as a means of resolving their difficulties. The inherent weaknesses of capitalism that hitherto were somewhat covered up by the postwar boom, are now coming into sharper focus.

The slowing down of the growth rate is already having a number of important side effects. It is sharpening trade relations in all directions. There is a slowdown in the rate of consumption of a number of raw materials and a corresponding decline in their prices.

This has broadened and deepened the anti-imperialist movements in countries that are dependent on imperialist buyers. It has especially affected miners and workers in the countries exploited by imperialism in South America, Africa and Asia. There has been an increase in the number of strikes in foreign U.S.-owned industries. These developments are propelling new elements into the political and economic struggles of anti-imperialism. These developments are adding a new quality to the national liberation struggles because they are developments that affect the working-class elements.

These economic developments are also feeding the sharpening of relations between capitalist countries. The unprecedented struggles now going on in the United States over tariffs and trade restrictions are only the initial skirmishes.

The rise of the "production abroad" features of U.S. imperialist operations has a number of effects. It has developed new divisions within the monopoly circles. It has added a new quality to the development of world financial and industrial empires. The growth of the overseas runaway industrial facilities is causing great turmoil on the United States domestic scene.

Toward International Trade Union Unity

This development has caused a rude awakening and has created new problems for the working class of the United States. In addition to the 150 billion dollars worth of goods produced in monopoly-owned industries in foreign lands and sold abroad, an appreciable part of this output is shipped back to the U.S.A. to compete with U.S.-made products.

Some unions are going in for tariff and import restrictions; but, more important, this development has aroused a new high in international consciousness among U.S. workers. This has opened up completely new opportunities for new approaches to international trade union unity. U.S. unions are now more active in this area than at any time in history.

This is a movement on a new basis. It is not a movement under the leadership of the State Department or the C.I.A. Wherever the U.S. trade unions are forced to fight the monopolies with large overseas runaway shops, they are also breaking with the Meany-Lovestone-C.I.A. position on relations with trade unions abroad.

To probe the new avenues of trade union unity would itself be enough of a reason to hold a world conference of Communist and Workers parties. I am convinced that the contradictions of this phase have already developed far enough so that with a fresh new look, with new bold initiatives, the influence of the Meany-Lovestone-C.I.A. gang on a section of the world trade union movement can now be destroyed.

It seems to me that this is an area that needs our collective attention and probing. For example, what about new initiatives for world-wide cooperation committees of common struggle? What about a committee of presidents of one hundred locals in General Electric plants the world over? What about a world drive to nationalize U.S.-owned industries? Cannot the confiscation of German fascist property during and after the war be used as a precedent? Is it not possible to tie this campaign to the atrocities of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam? Or, is not the demand for laws limiting foreign capital involvement within any one corporation a basis for campaigns and struggles?

The new level, the new forms of global monopolies call for a new look at forms and priorities of the class struggle against them.

The unions of the airline workers of North and South America just concluded a very important conference on their mutual problems arising out of monopoly control of their industries, and this while the concept of a meeting of the Communist and Workers parties of North and South America remains only a "hopeful possibility."

Weakness at the Core

U.S. imperialism is not domestically immune from the new developments. The reservoir of postwar reconstruction abroad has completely dried up. Like the core of our planet, the core of world imperialism is far from stable. In fact, the stresses and strains here are possibly the most severe.

The aggression against Vietnam has greatly aggravated all of the contradictions. There is great turmoil in the United States. The number of strikes and the length of the strikes keep growing. Automation has made job security and speed-up the most crucial issues for our workers. In spite of war production, overall unemployment remains, according to the official figures, about 4 per cent, while 10 per cent of Negro workers are out of work. The struggles of the poor, and especially of the Negro Americans, reached a new high in militancy in last summer's rebellions. Rebellions of the poor took place in scores of cities. These rebellions are mainly sparked by the youth who have no outlook of ever getting a job. The election of

New Tactical Priorities

Any change in objective conditions demands a re-examination of political and tactical priorities. For this reason, we in the non-socialist world are today called upon to re-examine a number of questions. For example, are we taking full advantage of the new possibilities with new initiatives in promoting militant mass movements and actions? We should have under continuous scrutiny whether our tactics are attuned to the rising curve of broad mass anti-imperialist sentiment. It is necessary to reject all concepts of petty-bourgeois radicalism, anarchism--of all tactics that have no relationship to mass movements.

But the most effective struggle against such sectarian concepts is one that, in positive terms, projects a line of militant tactics that is a reflection of mass trends and currents. It is one that projects the struggle against conservatism, against practices of accommodating to difficulties, against sticking to old routine methods and habits, shying away from probing new methods, new forms of struggle. If the new is always related to and tested by the reality of mass movements and mass reactions, then the probing will avoid both the pitfalls of empty radicalism or the echoing of that which has long since passed.

Is it possible to raise the political and ideological struggles to the level where it is politically untenable for any public official to support the actions of U.S. imperialism, and where it becomes a political necessity to condemn such actions? Is it possible to react more sharply at home to the speeches of representatives at the United Nations giving support to U.S. imperialism? I believe it is.

Mass demonstrations are very important means of struggle; there should be many more of them and they should be even bigger. But as we all know, sporadic actions are never enough.

Is it not necessary for us to take a new look to see whether we are giving leadership for building the necessary mass grassroots base for the anti-imperialist struggles? "Down with Imperialism" is a good slogan on a banner, but it is not a substitute for a program around which grass-roots mass movements can be built. Such a program must be built around the issues that policies of imperialism create in each country. Merely to repeat the slogan does not expose imperialism, ideologically or otherwise.

We should check whether the issues of anti-imperialism are live issues in election campaigns, or whether, as in some resolutions, they are only "be it further resolved" issues.

We should study whether we are giving special attention and special political leadership to unions and workers in the foreign U.S.-owned industries. It seems to me that we must help these unions to find a path that takes into account both the workers' self-interest and the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

These are not rhetorical questions; they are questions of probing; they are questions that come to the fore because of the shifting objective scene. It is clear that we have to escalate the process of international exchanges. We need to establish new and additional forms and organs of exchange. The spirit of togetherness must be raised to new levels.

Long before Einstein presented the elements of time and motion as basic in his theory of relativity, Marx and Engels considered them as pivotal in considera-

The tactical line, the tactical shifts leading to the October Revolution are a brilliant example of this truth. Lenin was not only correct; he was correct in time!

The movement calls for a probing--in time, for raising the struggle to higher levels-- in time.

We have the right theory. We have correct overall strategic concepts. We have correct policies. We can work out correct tactics.

If we do these things in time, we can win!

#

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: DEC 15 1967

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'The Situation in the Indonesian Communist Movement.'"

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on 12/4-8/67 from notes that CG 5824-S* had made of the original document while it was in his custody.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement and thus adversely affect the national security.

A further reason for classification of the enclosed letterhead memorandum as "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" is because source advised that this document possibly could have been

1-704, 4-29-67
3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
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Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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CG 134-46 Sub B

reviewed by at least 200 to 300 persons in various languages as it was circulated to all the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties. Source advised he was entrusted with the original document and was responsible for its return to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and its review by the members of the CP, USA delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

answer must be an escalation of the struggle on all fronts. The new phase reflects a new heightening of the contradictions in the structure of imperialism. There is a struggle for priorities in all sectors of world imperialism. National bourgeois interests in each sector have been moved up on the list of priorities.

These objective developments are giving a new stimulus to the anti-imperialist movements. They act to accelerate the world revolutionary processes in general. The vibrations of the world revolutionary process in turn have great impact on the world center--the core--of world imperialism.

We take note of the inherently aggressive nature of imperialism. But we also reject as unrealistic all fatalistic concepts of world reality. We reject the concept that imperialism is like a fire cracker that has been lit, and therefore there is nothing anyone or any force can do about it, that it will inevitably follow its logical course and end up in a nuclear confrontation.

Such unrealistic conclusions lead to paralysis, to inaction, to abstract sloganeering. A correct estimate, on the other hand, will lead to confidence, to concrete initiatives of struggle.

Neo-Colonialist Methods

There are two other specific areas of imperialist activities that I want to mention only briefly. As we know, U.S. imperialism does not have a monopoly on neo-colonialism, even though it does have the patent rights. Experience has shown that for imperialism, neo-colonialism is a form of temporary retreat in the face of the realities of the moment. Experience also has shown that the lines between the neo-colonialist forms and the colonialism of the older type can be very transitory.

It seems to us there are two areas of this phenomenon that need further probing. One is the increased use of the national military cadre as a tool of imperialism. The lessons of Indonesia, Ghana, Greece, Brazil, Argentina and other countries should become the property of all anti-imperialist forces. U.S. imperialism puts more effort and spends more money on this phase of penetration than on any other. The work of the C.I.A., the special military training centers, are all geared to this form. The other area, closely related to the use of the national military cadre, is the political and ideological weaknesses that have appeared in the ranks of anti-imperialism, following the winning of state independence. Neo-colonialism is in fact molded and structured to take full advantage of these momentary weaknesses. The use of the national military cadre in particular is designed to take advantage of the political and ideological weaknesses at this stage.

Obviously, the crucial question that comes to the surface at this point is the shift in the role of class groups. As we all know, large sections of the people fighting for national liberation are propelled into struggles by a sense of independence, of national identity. But we also know that this is coupled with the desire of acquiring private property in means of production. Land for the peasants; factories, business and trade for the capitalist and middle classes. As the struggle develops for a non-capitalist path and for socialist measures, it is clear that there will be shifts in the alliance that originally fought for independence. Neo-colonialism is geared to take advantage of momentary vacuum or confusion which takes place and which opens up the possibilities for the use of reactionary national military cadre.

Experience indicates the need for the accumulation of experiences and for a further probing of how the advanced and working-class forces can more decisively--and in time--help to weld together the necessary new alignment of class forces that will reflect the new tasks that emerge after state independence has been achieved. This is a cardinal question in the struggle against neo-colonialism.

For an Ideological Offensive

There is one other pillar of U.S. imperialism that shows a developing weakness: the ideological pillar. This is a decisive front of struggle. U.S. imperialism is not only the arsenal of world imperialism; it has also become the ideological headquarters. There are hundreds of institutions, governmental and private, spending billions of dollars on this front. They produce extensive ideological cadre and thousands of books each year. They print magazines and newspapers, and produce television and radio programs.

One of the difficulties of exposing U.S. imperialism has been its demagogic veneer of "democracy" and even the use of "anti-imperialism" accompanied by talk about its support for revolutions.

The brutal nature of its aggression in Vietnam has opened up big gaps in this demagogic cover. The dramatic revelations about the work of its subversive arm, the C.I.A., have further exposed the real nature of its operations. The struggles of Negro Americans have exposed to the world its anti-democratic and racist nature.

The Bay of Pigs fiasco and the brazen invasion of the Dominican Republic have likewise contributed to deeply eroding the demagogic veneer so carefully built up throughout the years. Internally, the Johnson Administration has been forced to shift from the demagogy of fighting for "democracy" and "the right of self-determination" for the Vietnamese people, to the demagogy of fighting to "defend the United States." It seems to us that all this has opened up great new possibilities for an ideological offensive against U.S. imperialism throughout the world. We should never forget the importance of the anti-fascist ideological offensive against German imperialism. It was the foundation for the popular mass character of the world struggle against the imperialist axis powers.

It seems to us that this is an area we could profitably probe. It is also an area that could profit from a constant exchange of experiences. There may be differences about many things. But for a serious revolutionary movement there can be no questions over the need to carry on constant mass ideological and political work. There are no short cuts. There is nothing that can replace it.

Tactical Questions

Much has been said about the methods and forms of struggle against imperialism. Much of the confusion has been dispelled. Some of the basic general guidelines have been reaffirmed by recent experiences. As is true of any revolutionary movement, the anti-imperialist movement, whether in the countries of oppression or those of the oppressed, are in the first place popular mass movements. Above all else, what is involved is leading, teaching, mobilizing, organizing masses for struggle. A policy or a tactic is only as successful as it is effective in moving masses into struggle.

Because masses respond to the concrete effects of the policies of imperialism on their lives, there can be no world-wide tactical blueprints for all countries, for all times.

Because tactics of struggle must of necessity be in each case a reflection of a very specific set of circumstances, the tactical decisions must be left to the forces which are on the spot.

Mass struggle can only be indigenous.

Leadership can only be indigenous.

The decision as to whether a leadership should project a peaceful or non-peaceful line, or some specific combination of the two, must also be based on a specific set of circumstances involving critical assessments on such questions as what the masses are ready to do and the specific relationship of forces at the given moment. Therefore, such a decision must also be left to the leadership on the spot.

Furthermore, since such decisions must be based on current and even momentary developments, it would seem that while it is possible on the basis of past experiences and the over-all relationship of forces to project a possible course for the battles ahead and in these terms to meet the need to prepare for all eventualities, it is not possible to make a decision and issue a pronouncement on the exact nature of the decisive battles to come. The Bolsheviks could not and did not predict the exact nature of the shifts in tactics that the changing situation called for during the April to October days.

It is one thing for a party to say that, based on past experiences, based on the present relationship of forces, our people need to prepare for all eventualities including a non-peaceful solution of the issues. It is another thing for a party to say: "For our country the solution will be an armed struggle."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

DEC 15 1967

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION IN THE INDONESIAN
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in December, 1967, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, a document prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), considered highly confidential, entitled, "The Situation in the Indonesian Communist Movement," was circulated among the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of this document:

The situation in Indonesia, after the right coup in October, 1965, remains tense and involved. Power is in the hands of a group of Generals of the Land Forces. A sharp swing to the right has taken place in the country; anti-communism has been officially made part of the government's domestic policy.

The Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI) and the democratic organizations connected with it, including the Sobsi Trade Union association, the Indonesian peasant front, and the women's and youth organizations, have been subjected to a reign of terror and banned throughout the country. There are no exact

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
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figures as to how many communists and democrats have been murdered. The communist underground sets the number at more than 300,000. A large part of the leading CPI cadres in the center and the localities have been wiped out. There is reason to believe that (Dipa Nusantara) Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee, CPI, his deputies M. H. Lukman, Njoto, and Asmu, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, have been killed. Political Bureau members Njono, Sakirman, Sudisman, and Anvar Sanusi, candidate member of the Political Bureau, and most of the Central Committee of the CPI have been arrested. About 200,000 communists are in jail or prison camps.

At the beginning of July, 1966, the Provisional Peoples Consultative Congress of Indonesia banned the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and "the implementation of communism in practice" and confirmed the previous decision of the authorities outlawing the CP and other left organizations.

The world communist movement still has to analyze the causes behind the defeat of the CPI and draw the appropriate conclusions. Several important lessons of the events in Indonesia are clear already now; however, various Indonesian underground groups have published critical documents in which Indonesian comrades, themselves, point out mistakes of the former CPI leadership and attempt to draw lessons from the events in Indonesia.

The communist movement in Indonesia is an example of protracted "left-wing disorder" combined with patently right-wing opportunist tactics in relation to Sukarno, President of Indonesia, and the national bourgeoisie, stemming from domestic circumstances, chiefly the petty bourgeois peasant nature of the Party itself, and from external pressure exerted by the Communist Party of China (CPC) leadership.

The CPI came under pressure from Chinese directives in 1948. Erroneously believing that the first stage of the national liberation movement had ended and that a revolutionary situation, supposedly permitting the establishment of people's democratic power in the country, the CP set a course toward the armed seizure of power. Relying exclusively on some of the Army

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units and on militant youth detachments, the CP launched in 1948 an armed uprising known as the "Madiun Events." In effect, this was an uprising against the national liberation forces headed by Sukarno. Weak organizationally and lacking broad support among the masses, the CP naturally suffered a defeat.

After 1948, the Party leadership drew definite lessons from its mistakes. At the time, the Central Committee of the CPSU, taking into account Indonesia's specific features, her position as a country of islands, the alignment of class forces, and Indonesia's international and internal position, cautioned the CPI leadership in the form of comradely advice against blindly imitating the methods of struggle which revolutionary China was trying to impose on it, against orienting itself exclusively on an armed uprising and the formation of partisan districts on islands. In that period, the Indonesian comrades paid attention to our advice.

At the request of the CPI leadership, the Central Committee of the CPSU helped the Indonesian communists to draft the new Party program that was adopted in 1954. This program opened for the Indonesian communists the prospect of forming a national front, guided them towards isolating the right-wing forces, worked to satisfy the vital needs of the country's working people and winning them over to the side of socialism. This line brought the CPI significant success. It helped to strengthen CPI influence in the country's political life and to spread communist ideas among broad sections of the population.

More than six million voters cast their ballots for CP candidates in the 1955 parliamentary elections and in the local governmental elections in 1957-58, the Party moved up into first place, polling eight million votes. This opened up a real prospect of coming to power by peaceful means on an alliance with the country's left-wing democratic forces. This road to power was the one which the Party program indicated as being the most desirable. At the same time the possibility for a non-peaceful road was provided if imposed by the bourgeoisie.

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At the beginning of the sixties, the CPI leadership began to depart from that line largely under the influence of ultra-left Chinese directives. The close circle of top Party leaders incorrectly assessed the alignment of political forces in the country concurring with Peng Chen's (member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPC) conclusions that a "brilliant" revolutionary situation existed in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

The events of September, 1965, showed that the old "leftist" and right-wing opportunist malaise in the CPI had not been overcome. Petty bourgeois passions swept the CPI and its leaders off their feet. The Party's massive growth was accounted for almost exclusively by an influx of peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. (In 1965 more than 60% of the CPI members were peasants.) The CPI leadership put the slogan, "Integrating Marxism-Leninism with the peasantry" into the forefront. The Marxist-Leninist slogan on the leading role of the working class in the revolution was substituted by the Chinese slogan on the decisive role of the peasantry. At a Plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPI, in December, 1963, Aidit stated: "The peasant masses are the decisive force in carrying out not only the first national-democratic stage of our revolution but also the second socialist stage."

The CPI ideological disarmament and the coalescence of its slogans with those of the national bourgeoisie became strikingly evident at the extraordinary Seventh Congress of the CPI in April, 1962. Here, the CPI leaders openly proclaimed that the state ideology (Pancha-Shila) and the official program of the Indonesian revolution (in Sukarno's political manifesto) should be regarded as the Party's second program. They even put forward a slogan about subordinating class interests to national interests.

The CPI leadership supported Sukarno's idea about "directed democracy" and continuously strove to adapt itself to Sukarno; it closely linked its destiny with Sukarno and his changing policies. In a speech to young students on March 12, Aidit urged them "to be conscious implementers of the revolutionary teaching of Bung Karno." The CPI leadership believed that by adapting itself to Sukarno and constantly extolling him, it would be able to get communists into the government; exert growing pressure on Sukarno and end up by gaining complete power.

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All this took place under strong pressure on the CP leadership from the Chinese leaders who were using Indonesia as a testing ground in putting "the ideas of MAO Tse-tung" into practice and as a tool of Peking's great power policy in Southeast Asia. Following in the wake of the Chinese CP, the CPI leaders proclaimed Southeast Asia "the focus of world contradiction" and "the center of revolutionary storms," qualifying the revolution as a universal one, surpassing in significance all previous revolutions including the October Revolution in Russia. They urged the Party to wage a political struggle only against the external enemy, American imperialism, and an ideological struggle against "modern revisionism," whereas, previously the CPI leaders had worked for closer unity in the international communist movement. Regarding such unity as a factor for unity within the CPI, itself, they began to support the polemics fanned by Peking calling this "a university of Marxism-Leninism, and free of charge, moreover."

The CPC leadership succeeded in foisting on the CPI its tactics of "pushing forward the revolution"; the course of seizing power by means of a putsch. These ideas formed the basis of the political line approved by a Plenary meeting of the CPI, Central Committee, in May, 1965. Aidit told the meeting: "The experience of political struggle in Indonesia shows that the Indonesians can play their part in pushing forward the development of the revolutionary situation in Asia and Africa." This erroneous line gradually carried the CPI leaders further and further away from the Marxist-Leninist position. The September 30th events leading to the CP's defeat were the upshot of these sectarian directives. The Chinese leadership, it must be emphasized, bears the direct responsibility for the CPI's defeat. Actively assisted by the CPI leadership, Peking tried to win over President Sukarno and in every way encouraged his hegemonistic aspirations and his claims to a leading role among the developing countries.

The Central Committee, CPSU, did everything to safeguard the Indonesian CP from making grave mistakes and suffering defeat; it strove to help its leadership to take the correct line. Many times between 1962 and 1965 the Central Committee of the CPSU invited CPI delegations to Moscow. At the same

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time, three CPSU delegations went to Indonesia. The CPSU Central Committee wrote the CPI Central Committee a number of letters which expressed, in a friendly manner, its critical attitude to the course the Central Committee of the CPI was following. In these letters and also during meetings and talks the Central Committee, CPSU, called the attention of the Indonesian comrades to the need to rally all anti-imperialist forces and to mobilize them to fight against reaction; it expressed concern over the consequences which could result from the erroneous concepts of the CPI leadership. However, instead of carrying on a comradely discussion, the CPI representatives leveled unfriendly criticism from pro-Chinese positions at the policy of the CPSU and the whole line of the world communist movement.

During the last talks in Moscow in July, 1965, with the CPI delegation led by Aidit, the CPSU delegation insistently warned the Indonesian comrades that their line would "merely weaken the anti-imperialist forces and undermine the government in the possibility of rallying these forces to resist the imperial forces" and that in connection with this force internal reaction could "seize some opportune moment to strike a blow at the revolutionary forces of Indonesia, including your Party." The CPI leadership paid no attention to our comradely warnings.

After the CPI delegation left Moscow for Peking early in August, 1965, the CPI leadership stopped all contact with the CPSU and with representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Indonesia. It should be noted that the CPI leadership deliberately concealed the content of their talks with the Central Committee, CPSU, both from the rank and file of the Party and from the Party active. Only a small group of persons who supported the pro-Chinese course of the CPI leaders were informed about it.

For years Indonesia was gripped by a deep economic crisis. Inflation reached enormous proportions and production dropped. The Eight-Year General Development Programme (1961-1969) failed completely. State treasury revenues from the

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nationalized enterprises ranged from 2% to 15% of the targets. The manufacturing industries operated at only 40% capacity with output 30% to 40% of prewar capacity. The index of retail food prices increased eighty-fold between 1953 and 1965. Meanwhile, vast resources, including foreign exchange, were spent unproductively in particular on prestige products glorifying Sukarno.

The land reform promulgated back in 1960 was not carried out and 60% of the peasants are still without land, renting it from landowners on shackling terms. Far from getting better, the position of the urban and rural working people grew worse from year to year.

A new bourgeoisie arose in recent years from among the top ranking officials of the state apparatus and military and economic bodies. These corrupt elements which fattened on the state treasury obstructed democratic reforms.

The country's difficult position was aggravated by the emphatically negligent attitude of the government and Sukarno, himself, above all, to problems of economic development and the living standard of the popular masses. In effect, the CPI leadership encouraged this line, and in recent years it stopped fighting for the working people's interest, hoping that the mounting economic difficulties and the declining living standard of the people would turn the working masses further to the left and automatically bring about a revolutionary situation. This stand could not but undermine the CPI's prestige among the masses as a defender of their class' interests.

This weakened the position of the CPI in the conditions of the sharpening struggle between the left-wing forces, led by the CP, and the right-wing forces, led by the religious parties and a section of the Army Generals. In view of the President's worsening health, both the leftists and rightists stepped up their activity so as to prevent the other side from taking power in the event of Sukarno's withdrawal. In this crucial moment the CPI made a series of grave errors; by its putschist actions, the Party and the mass organizations it headed received a blow from imperialism and reaction.

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When, as the CPI leaders declared, they learned of a plot by reactionary-minded Generals to seize power before others could do it, they took up the putschist way through a Palak coup instead of appealing to the masses to unmask the plans of the reactionary top Generals, using the CPI participation in government bodies, mobilizing Army units supporting the communists (specifically the Air Force and the Navy) for resistance to reactionaries and possibly arming the Party and its supporters on a mass scale. According to testimony given in court by Njono, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI; P. Paredes, alternate member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, and other CPI leaders, as well as testimony of Sakirman, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, given during the investigation in August and September, 1965, the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, held three meetings at which it planned and then organized an armed uprising known as the September 30th Movement.

Having decided to seize power by an armed coup, the CPI leadership wholly relied on the success of the coup at the top led by Colonel Untung, commander of a battalion of the President's Guard, who was connected with the CPI. The Party leadership did not devote the necessary attention to increasing its influence in the armed forces and to preparing the coup organizationally. The direct organizers and participants of Untung's coup, likewise, did nothing to win over the masses and to get the support of the country's progressive forces. After seizing Radio Djakarta, they neither offered the people a positive program of social and economic reforms nor summoned the working class and the peasantry to action against the conspiracy of the Generals. In these conditions it was difficult to expect that the people would support Untung.

The day following Untung's coup, the newspapers "Harjan Rakjat" and "Kebudajudn Bary" carried editorials approving the attempted coup as a "patriotic and revolutionary measure" undertaken to "save the revolution and the people." During and after the trial, Untung confirmed that he was connected with Sjam, authorized representative of the Central Committee, CPI, and through him received instructions personally issued by CPI Chairman Aidit. At present, Sjam is in prison and the authorities are arranging his trial.

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The facts disclosed during the court investigation confirmed that only a very small group of members of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, knew about the preparations for the September 30, 1965, coup. The CPI leaders did not consult with the Party on the measures to be taken in the situation that had arisen. The events of September 30th came as a complete surprise for the majority of the Central Committee members and all the more so for the broad Party active, the working class, the peasantry, and the soldiers and officers who were connected with the Party or were under its influence.

A statement issued by the CPI Committee of Western Java on October 5th pointed out that it had "no knowledge of what had led to the events of September 30, 1965." Further, the statement emphasized that "inasmuch as the event of September 30th was a great and important national event, the CPI Committee of Western Java is awaiting the official point of view of the Central Committee, CPI, in Djakarta, as the highest Party body which is competent to determine the national and general opinion of the CPI."

When the right-wing forces launched a counterattack and mounted severe reprisals and terrorism on a mass scale, neither the Party nor the democratic organizations under its influence were prepared to beat back the reactionary onslaught. The CPI leadership remained passive, following the events of September 30th. It proved unable to work out new tactics of struggle in the radically-changed conditions and to bring them to the knowledge of the Party active and rank and file. It took no measures to defend the Party and the communists from the terrorism of reaction. -It continued to stake on Sukarno, relying on his vague promise to find a "political solution." On October 10, 1965, ten days after the unsuccessful coup, when mass reprisals were already mounting against the Party, the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, issued an appeal to all communists "not to fall into the trap of provocations by irresponsible persons" and "to entrust political solution to President Sukarno."

"When the Party placed its hope on a political solution by President Sukarno, (said a document of a group of

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Indonesian communists called 'For a Correct Course of the Indonesian Revolution,' published in Indonesia at the close of 1966, beginning of 1967), "that solution was not forthcoming. Meanwhile, the reactionaries were not asleep. They were persecuting the progressive revolutionary forces and unleashing inhuman white terror. Hundreds of thousands of members and activists of the progressive-revolutionary organizations, as well as their absolutely innocent families, became victims of mass assassinations. Hundreds of thousands of people were thrown into prisons or concentration camps.

At the initial stage, as facts show, President Sukarno supported the September 30th movement which could be explained by his desire to strengthen his personal power by using the forces of the CPI to eliminate the groups of Generals who opposed him. But when the putsch fell through, he took no serious measures to protect its organizers.

His halfhearted and belated attempts to prevent the offensive of the right-wing forces and to win back full power proved futile. Lacking the courage to appeal to the people and openly ask for support from the left-wing forces and the military units which had remained loyal to him, he gradually capitulated to the top ranking Army Generals and on March 11, 1966, handed over full power to General Suharto, the Commander of the Land Forces. Vested with emergency powers, Suharto on March 12th issued an order "on behalf of the President" banning and dissolving the CPI. He reshuffled the government and included in it people whose views coincided with the views of the Indonesian Army Generals. Eighteen Ministers of the Foreign Cabinet, including Deputy Prime Ministers Subandorio and C. H. Saleh, were arrested. As a result, Sukarno was deprived of his influential supporters and isolated from the government apparatus.

At its session in June-July, 1966, the Provisional People's Consultative Congress of Indonesia approved these measures and endorsed Suharto's emergency powers. Former Defense Minister General Nasution, a sworn enemy of the CPI, was elected Chairman of the Congress.

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The above measures were undertaken to prepare the groundwork for a fresh offensive by the right-wing forces. By the beginning of 1967, Sukarno was pressured more and more to resign from the post of President. Some political leaders, headed by General Nasution, proposed to bring Sukarno to trial on charges of complicity in the events of September 30, 1965.

On February 20, 1967, Sukarno yielded to the pressure of the right-wing forces which had consolidated their positions and transferred the functions of Head of State to General Suharto, retaining for himself only the nominal post of President and Supreme Commander in Chief. But this did not satisfy the right-wing forces. On March 12, 1967, the Provisional People's Consultative Congress submitted to their pressure and removed Sukarno from all his posts, forbidding him to engage in political activity until after a general election. General Suharto was appointed Acting President. Up to the time when the general election was to be held the Congress entrusted him with solving further "legal" problems related to "Dr. Sukarno."

The appointment of General Suharto Acting President and the concentration of all executive powers in his hands is viewed in Indonesia as an essential condition for establishing a new regime. Nevertheless, political instability still continues.

After the right-wing coup, the right wing, nationalistic groups that came to power--groups made up of military and representatives of political parties on the one hand and ultra-rights, the obviously pro-imperialist forces on the other--acted in a united front to crush the CP and to depose Sukarno. With little time left before the general elections scheduled for July, 1968, which might not take place, a fight for power has flared up between the ruling group of the national bourgeoisie and the ultra-right Moslem circles. The difference between these two forces was felt throughout the existence of independent Indonesia. Today, however, the struggle has become more acute and its outcome will, in certain measure, determine the country's internal and foreign policy.

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The nationalistic circles which in the current administration are represented by a part of the military grouping and by such statesmen as, for instance, Foreign Minister Adam Malik, aligning with it, talk of the necessity to keep Indonesia in the positions of non-alignment and anti-imperialist and at the same time to promote extensive economic ties with the West. Employing balancing tactics, these circles also want to continue to cooperate with socialist countries.

The right-wing Moslem groups whose nucleus is made up of the pro-West Masjumi Party and the Socialist Party of Indonesia which were banned in 1960, from the ultra-right wing which is campaigning for practically unlimited opportunities for private capital in the country and for broad contacts with the West. Making use of the situation which is favorable for them and secretly supported by Western powers, the ultra-rightists are nursing the idea of proclaiming Indonesia a Moslem state which would become a citadel of anti-communism in Southeast Asia and are calling for an orientation on the West and for merciless measures against the left elements.

This struggle is waged in conditions of an extremely severe economic crisis and dislocation which the imperialist powers are using to perpetrate into Indonesia economically, militarily, and politically.

Financial and economic situations in Indonesia remained extremely tense throughout 1966 and the beginning of 1967 despite government efforts to achieve some sort of economic stability; inflation which has developed into a very serious political problem is continuing to grow. Production in all ~~principles~~ ^{branches} of the national economy is being curtailed (with the exception of oil extraction). Food output remains at its 1965 level. Industrial enterprises are functioning at 20% to 30% of capacity. There is mass unemployment according to official figures in May, 1967; there were three million unemployed in towns alone. A huge number of people are forbidden to work in government institutions, industrial enterprises, offices, farms, educational establishments, and the like, due to their "participation" in the September 30th Movement.

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Elaborating its program of stabilization, the government made the emphasis on what it called the "free-market mechanism" and on the development of the private economic sector. The material and technical basis of the state sector has sharply diminished following the return to their former owners of the previously nationalized foreign enterprises or plantations and those that had been taken under state control and also as a result of the mass sales of government-owned enterprises to the private sector.

The standard of living is still extremely low. The cost of the living index in October, 1966, was 238.63% (1958 equals 100) and 364.005% at the close of April, 1967. Today, its per capita income is one of the lowest in the world.

The currency deficit is mounting. In the Spring of 1967, Indonesia's overall indebtedness on short term and long term loans amounted to two billion, six hundred thirty million dollars. In 1966 it negotiated a postponement on the repayment of debts totalling five hundred thirty million dollars, but in 1967 Indonesia is still unable to meet its commitments on loans and is experiencing an acute need for new loans. According to experts, Indonesia, in 1967, needs credits totalling two hundred to two hundred ten million dollars. A third of this sum was promised by the USA and another third by Japan. Thus far, the credits promised by the imperialist powers are granted with circumspection and are accompanied with onerous, economic, and political terms. In its bid for credits, the present Indonesian regime has made considerable concessions to the imperialist powers. The new law on foreign investments gives the monopoly broad privileges. The Indonesian Government and private capital are setting up joint enterprises with foreign capital. The imperialist powers are using their economic and financial aid to Indonesia to force her to renounce completely her policy of neutrality and anti-colonialism and to consolidate the present regime as a bastion of anti-communism.

Although the Indonesian leaders declare that the promotion of economic relations with the Western powers and the strengthening of political relations with them will not reorientate their foreign policy, the threat of Indonesia being drawn into the mainstream of imperialist policy remains starkly real.

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Some of the steps taken by the new regime show that it is trying to preserve relations with the Soviet Union. Since April, 1966, Indonesian official representatives have repeatedly praised the question of a visit to the USSR of Indonesia's Foreign Minister A. Malik. The Soviet Government found it desirable to receive an Indonesian Government delegation in October, 1966. A. Malik was told that the Soviet Union generally denounces the anti-communist policy and the reign of terror against the left forces. Regarding the banning of communist ideas in Indonesia, it was stated that repressions would be powerless to halt the spread of the progressive ideology. The Soviet side pointed out that the anti-communist campaign in Indonesia could not but negatively affect Soviet-Indonesian relations and that further relations between the two countries would depend upon the policy pursued by Indonesia. Malik's attention was drawn to the fact that Indonesia was menaced by the USA efforts to use the situation in that country to influence her policy for its own imperialist purposes and also to the danger of the attempts to draw Indonesia into the imperialist blocs..

Taking into account the fact that an excessively hard Soviet stand in economic talks might be utilized by Indonesian pro-imperialist circles to discredit Soviet economic aid and to exert still stronger economic and political pressure on Indonesia as well as the fact that at present Indonesia is insolvent the Soviet side agreed to postpone the repayment of Indonesian debts under medium term and long term credits until 1969.

After the crushing of the Party organizations, the situation in the communist movement of Indonesia remains extremely grave. The CPI no longer exists as a centralized party, as an organized force. The continuing repressions against the communists and all the left elements have compelled not only the rank and file members but also many functionaries to give up political activity. Among the communist members there is dissatisfaction and even anger against the former CPI leadership headed by Aidit whose adventurous actions had jeopardized the Party.

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Several underground groups with a limited membership headed by members of the former Central Committee, CPI, and also individual Party officials continue to function in the country. These groups are attempting to analyze past errors and chart a program of immediate action by the communist movement in Indonesia. This is mirrored in leaflets and other illegal materials published underground.

A document entitled, "For a Correct Path of the Indonesian Revolution" has been circulated in Indonesia and in some other countries, notably in India and Ceylon. The contents of this document show that its authors express the opinion of those forces which view the CPI policy principally from correct Marxist-Leninist positions. Analyzing the Party's strategy and tactics in recent years, the authors of this document arrived at the conclusion that in the activities of the CPI in the political, ideological, and organizational spheres there were right opportunists and leftist mistakes.

As is noted in this document, the main reason for the CPI failure to direct the revolution was that it had not yet adequately acquired the qualities of a Party of the Leninist type. In the past, the Party paid no attention to enhancing the role of proletarian elements, in raising their political, ideological, and cultural levels. The Party leadership clearly overestimated the role of the peasantry.

The doors were opened wide to petty bourgeois elements, thus allowing them to flood the Party, and its active members were admitted without sufficient screening with the result that there was hardly any difference between membership in the Party and membership in an ordinary mass organization. The leadership of the primary Party organizations and the organizations of the revolutionary peasantry were mostly in the hands of kulak and non-peasant petty bourgeois elements (officials, representatives of the rural administration). The groups and primary organizations in rural localities were practically idle. Ideologically, politically, and organizationally the Party was overwhelmed by a petty bourgeois wave.

Thus, the document notes in the ideological sphere the Party was contaminated by petty bourgeois revolutionism, falling a victim to ultra-left slogans and petty bourgeois

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

nationalism. This greatly undermined the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which is an inalienable principle underlying the activity of a working class party.

In the sphere of theory, the Party displayed dogmatism, blindly accepting outward revolutionary conceptions without taking local conditions into account, and, on the other hand, it displayed revisionism, revising the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and reducing it to "national racism" within the framework of the so-called "Indonesianization of Marxism-Leninism." In the political sphere the Party did not pursue a firm policy in defense of its class positions, took the line of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie, lauded cooperation with the Nasakom to the skies, was steadily losing its independence and freedom in strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasants, displayed subjectivism and rashness in its appraisal of the situation and the balance of forces vacillated in determining its tactics, was inclined to adventurism and then on the other hand capitulationism, absolutized certain forms of struggle that must be employed by the working class party. All this made the Party incapable of being the leader of the revolution. In the sphere of organization, the principles of democratic centralism steadily disappeared from inner-Party life. The principle of collective leadership gave way to the personality cult; inner-Party democracy melted initiative from below and was discouraged and self-criticism was suppressed. There was no firm line, liberalism was displayed with regard to the organizational principles in the Party roles and nothing serious was done to eliminate the bureaucracy reigning in the Party. As a result of these errors and deviations, the document emphasized in conclusion, the CPI was isolated from the Marxist-Leninist majority in the world communist movement while within the country the Party lost its influence among the masses, using adventurist methods of struggle and in the long run it was defeated.

The Marxist-Leninist group wants a revision of the erroneous views of the former leadership and a return to the line put down in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. The adherents of this group declared that under present day conditions the CPI must get down to painstaking political work in order to surmount the isolation of communists and win the masses over to their side. Some of the former leaders of the CPI who are continuing to pursue the Peking line have, likewise, circulated their own policy document under

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the title, "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC, CPI." In this document they go to all lengths to justify the policy of MAO Tse-tung and shift all the blame for the Party's rout to the late Aidit. The Party is urged to accept the Chinese road to revolution and the leading role of the proletariat is rejected. The document contains direct instructions on the need to rupture relations with the so-called "modern revisionists" to combat the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The group calling itself "The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, CPI" maintains close contact with the so-called "foreign center of the CPI" headed by Y. Ajitorop, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPI, which has been set up in Peking. This center faithfully follows the splitting line of the Chinese leaders and utilizes pro-Chinese elements among Indonesian students abroad to conduct a struggle against the CP. Adhering to the policy charted by the Moscow meetings, this activity, aided by the Chinese People's Republic (CPR) Embassy in Moscow, was pursued in particular by Anvar Darma, foreign correspondent of the newspaper, "Harjan Rakjat," expelled from the USSR in September, 1966. He is at present residing in Peking.

The activities of the "Political Bureau" group which is linked with the Indonesian emigre center in Peking hinders the unification of the forces existing in the communist movement in Indonesia.

After the events of September 30th, the Central Committee, CPSU, repeatedly stigmatized the anti-communist campaign in Indonesia. The stand of the CPSU with regard to anti-communist reign of terror in Indonesia was clearly expressed in the report of the Central Committee, CPSU, to the 23rd Congress "with deep indignation," the report emphasized, "our whole Party and our entire people condemn the anti-communist reign of terror in Indonesia. Without trial or investigation, the reactionary forces of that country have taken brutal reprisals against tens of thousands of people whose only "guilt" was that they were members of the CP. The persecution and banning of the CP are dealing a blow at the unity of the revolutionary forces in Indonesia, undermining the anti-imperialist front and inflicting great harm to the interests of the Indonesian people, who are our friends. We demand an end to the criminal murder of communists who are the heroic fighters for the national independence of Indonesia, for the interests of her working people."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SITUATION
IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The stand of the CPSU on this issue was also clearly expressed in statements by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU, and M. A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, and other leaders of the CPSU in a number of editorials in "Pravda," official daily organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and in other materials published in the Soviet press.

The Soviet press and mass organizations in the USSR systematically come out in defense of the Indonesian communists, denouncing the anti-communist reign of terrorism in Indonesia and the attempts to discredit the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

A large group of Indonesian communists and left nationalists who had been studying at Soviet institutions of higher learning and feared to return home have been granted temporary asylum in the USSR.

The CPSU is taking all possible measures to render effective assistance to Indonesian communists in jail or in emigration as well as to communists striving to rejuvenate their Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to all progressive forces in the country in order to prevent the reactionaries from wresting Indonesia from the anti-imperialist front and to enable her to continue her policy of struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 19, 1967

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

PURPOSE:

This memorandum advises of results of our attempts to discredit James Edward Jackson, Chairman, Communist Party, USA, International Affairs Commission, in the eyes of the Soviets to preclude the possibility that he could replace one of our informants as liaison with the Soviets.

BACKGROUND:

My memorandum 10/23/67 recommended release through the Crime Records Division of an article speculating why Jackson departed for the Soviet Union ahead of the rest of the Party delegation to the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution." The article intimated that there was serious infighting between Jackson and Gus Hall, the Party's General Secretary, for control of the Party and that Jackson was attempting to tip the scales in his favor through numerous contacts with Soviet establishments in the United States.

On 11/5/67, the article appeared in the New York "Sunday News." Party headquarters sent a copy to the Communist Party, USA, delegation in Moscow where it was made available to the Soviets. CG 5824-S*, who was in Moscow, has reported that the Soviets were most upset over the article because it implied there was a definite connection between the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviets. The Soviets noted that this was precisely the sort of thing they warned the Communist Party, USA, about when Jackson began to visit Soviet establishments in the United States. The Soviets reiterated their urgent request that Jackson's visits to Soviet establishments in the United States be curtailed.

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CONTINUED - OVER

11 DEC 21 1967

67 DEC 21 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Although Gus Hall debunked the article and attributed it to the FBI or "the right wing in the United States," he agreed that Jackson had no business visiting Soviet establishments in the United States and instructed that the Soviets be informed he would "keep Jackson out of their hair."

OBSERVATIONS:

The Soviets and Hall reacted according to our plan and it appears we have eliminated Jackson as a potential rival to our Solo Operation which maintains the liaison between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

ACTION:

For information.

JH
gms
WCH

ds

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/15/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL (PRO-ARAB)."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/7-8/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

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 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

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DEC 22 1967

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 2 - 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM is the essence of a statement delivered by MEIR VILNER, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Israel (pro-Arab), at a meeting in Moscow, USSR, on 11/9/67 of representatives of the CP, USA, the CP of Canada, and the CP of Israel (pro-Arab). In addition to CG 5824-S*, the following individuals were present:

GUS HALL, General Secretary,
CP, USA

HENRY WINSTON, Chairman,
CP, USA

ALBERT J. LIMA, Chairman of the
Northern California District and
member of the National Executive
Board, CP, USA

HERBERT APTHEKER, member of the
National Committee, CP, USA

HARRY YARIS, Moscow correspondent
of "The Worker"

WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary
of the CP of Canada

TIM BUCK, National Chairman, CP of
Canada

BRUCE MAGNUSON, member of the National
Executive Committee, CP of Canada

SAM WALSH, member of the National
Executive Committee, CP of Canada,
and Chairman of the CP of Quebec

MEIR VILNER, Secretary of the Political
Bureau of the Central Committee, CP of
Israel (pro-Arab)

CG 134-46 Sub B

TAWFIQ TOUBI, member of the Political
Bureau and Secretary of the Central
Committee, CP of Israel (pro-Arab)

The statement by VILNER was the only item of consequence at this meeting. Remarks by GUS HALL, HENRY WINSTON and WILLIAM KASHTAN amounted to little more than questions asked to clarify VILNER's remarks. As a consequence of the meeting, a joint communique was issued by the CPs of the United States, Canada and Israel. This communique was published on Page 2, Columns 1-5, of the Sunday, 11/19/67, issue of "The Worker."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 15, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel (CPI) (pro-Arab), made a statement concerning the current policy of that Party. Following is the essence of Vilner's remarks:

Vilner stated that the life of the CPI has never been so difficult and complicated. It is worse now than it was under British rule. In 1956 the CPI was isolated politically from the masses but for a short time only, three to four weeks; however, the workers understood the situation and came back to the CPI. But now the situation is very difficult. The war between Israel and the Arab states was initiated by the command of the United States who coordinated their action with Israel more cleverly than in 1956.

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~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428071-6647

ENCLOSURE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

~~SECRET~~

In Vietnam, there is the situation of a United States satellite government which is weak and has no mass base. But the situation in Israel is different, because in Israel there is a government and an army. The United States and the British do not have to openly participate. They prepared this war for over a year. The CPI warned that this war was being prepared. This was known not through more reliable intelligence but through the CPI's connections in the army and elsewhere. The first aim of this war was to overthrow the Syrian regime and then Egypt.

The Arab-Jewish conflict is not the chief issue - the real issue is masked. Inadvertently Egyptian ruling circles helped to organize Israel for this conflict. The propaganda being put out by Cairo was idiotic and foolish and ignorant. Someone there worked for Israel even if not consciously. The Israeli Army opened their radios so that the soldiers could hear the Arab propaganda. Although the Israeli soldier is against war, this propaganda convinced them to fight in the occupied territories.

Vilner stated that it was a very difficult thing for the CPI to explain these matters to the masses of the Israeli people. Their task was further complicated by the fact that on this occasion there were two CPs of Israel. That fact was in itself difficult to explain to the people of Israel. Although the other CPI is getting smaller, nonetheless the government features the speeches of the other Party. The Vilner CPI was called "traitors" by Shmuel Mikunis, General Secretary of the CPI (pro-Israel). Mikunis charged that the Vilner group were foreign agents. Vilner stated that the evidence against his Party was given by renegades.

According to Vilner, the difficult job was to maintain ties with the masses while at the same time explaining the essence of reality from a class point of view and in the context of national interests. The open appearance of the CPI helped them very much and in this way they avoided illegalization and arrests. The Minister of Justice of Israel said that it would not be useful to arrest the communists, who would then become martyrs. The Minister also charged

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

~~SECRET~~

that the CPI favored the existence of Israel only so long as the Soviet Union favored it. But there was no way that either the government or the Mikunis group could get around the stand of the Vilner group that it favors the existence of Israel as a state.

But the Vilner CPI continued to publish its papers and posters. During this time they had to endure house arrest, hooliganism, provocations, etc. They did not sleep in their own homes. They lost their jobs. Even though they had no trade union jobs, many communist shop stewards were fired. This was worse than police persecution. A propaganda campaign of horrible proportions was mounted against them and they were painted as beasts. In spite of all this the Vilner CPI did not lose a single member whereas in 1956 they lost thirty percent of their membership.

By August of this year the Vilner CPI was already able to organize strikes such as the strike they led during the last citrus fruit export season. In the Israeli Parliament (Gnesset), the CPI were only three representatives against one hundred thirteen. Nevertheless, the CPI organized some front groups against the extermination of Arabs who still remained in occupied territories.

The present Israel Government is indescribable. These people are like Nazis and worse, according to Vilner. But the CPI does not use this term. They engage in the most shocking cruelty and they boast about it. The youth of Israel are being raised like Germans even though they are Jewish. The soil of Jordan is full of human blood - Arab blood. The intelligentsia and others published an advertisement last September in which they asked for the evacuation of all the occupied territory. They were revolted by the inhuman treatment of the refugees and the murders. Booklets were published, not by communists, taking a leaf from the postwar cry of the Germans, "We did not know what was being done!" Vilner's CPI's response is, "Now you know," and it is time that something is done about it. And the CPI is not alone now.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

~~SECRET~~

Vilner stated that the CPI is prepared for two possibilities. First, there are signs that the aggression will continue, especially against Syria. The United States wants this. The attack may be successful and the Soviet Union will have little time to prepare help for Syria. The United States hopes and has reason to believe that the regime in Syria can be undermined. Second, there may be the opposite development. Since the United States has not been successful in Vietnam, they may not want to have another Vietnam where there is no guarantee of success. Also, the United States may be hoping for a new situation and may agree to a political retreat. This would cause a clash within the ruling circles of Israel and may even result in a dictatorship. This in turn will lead to more opportunities for communists and others.

But the Israeli Army is only thirty percent composed of professionals. Seventy percent are territorial and reserve forces. Therefore, the Army will not support Moshe Dayan and the other militarists who want an open dictatorship.

According to Vilner, the CPI is fighting against terror and persecution and is also fighting for a united front even with some of the ruling circles. The situation is very complicated, and it is hard to foresee the future. For many years the CPI was supported by many fraternal Parties. Its strength was in keeping Jewish-Arab unity. Even the enemies of the CPI admire it. Now for the first time the good relations of the CPI with Arab Parties is in the open. Some Arab Parties, such as the CP of Jordan, support the CPI openly and publish its manifestos. The CP of Jordan even criticizes Arab Parties which call for the destruction of Israel and to drive the Jews into the sea. This is the first time that the position has been stated so clearly by the Arabs.

The CPI also has good relations now with the CP of Syria. The Syrians published the CPI position in their Party press on two occasions. But This is true not only of the communist press; the Egyptian press now quotes the CPI also. This means that there has been a basic change

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

~~SECRET~~

in the public opinion in Arab countries and shows that there are "two" Israels. In the past it was the weakness of the CPI that Arab countries would not recognize them. The CPI was taunted about this in the past by former Premier Ben Gurian. This situation is now beginning to change.

The program of the CPI, stated Vilner, is not only for "communism in Israel." The CPI program is a "national program." Many of the people in Israel have old sympathies and the CPI admits this but says, "Let us all be together." Israel is really a small country, not an "empire" despite the boasts of some of the leaders. Israel is surrounded by a sea of Arabs. All the basic machinery, raw materials and armaments must be imported.

Vilner stated that Ben Gurian was against this war in June, 1967. Before it started, he was afraid that without support of some great powers, Israel should not attack. He thought the Soviet Union would tilt the scale in favor of peace and Israel would be more sure. Until the last moment, Ben Gurian was against this war, and he is now being reminded of this. Our argument is that if Ben Gurian wanted to postpone this action at that time, then obviously there was no danger of "attack" from the Arabs. Levi Eshkol and Moshe Dayan answered cynically, "The Arabs brandished swords, but we used them."

Vilner then stated that regarding the CPI itself, it is very well organized. The sense of comradely solidarity has become stronger due to the attack upon the Party from outsiders. The other group, the Mikunis CPI, is anti-Jewish and claims to be independent from the CP of the Soviet Union. The Mikunis group accuses the Vilner group of being not communists but Sovieteers. But, according to Vilner, the Mikunis group is losing popularity. Vilner vowed that his group will fulfill its tasks and duties. He stated that the CPI must improve its tactics and must close the credibility gap between the people and the CPI. The people must believe the Party.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

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When Paul Novick, editor of the "Morning Freiheit" (a characterization of which is attached hereto), was in Israel he was always in the company of Mikunis and Moshe Sneh, member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPI (pro-Israel). Novick endorsed the Mikunis-Sneh group's position against evacuation of the occupied territories. Novick also had a meeting with Premier Eshkol. Actually, Novick was being used by these people and by other reactionary papers. According to Vilner, forty thousand dollars was sent by Novick to Israel.

It was remarked that the CPI (pro-Arab) will hold a Congress in August, 1968, and a Youth Congress will be held in April, 1968.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
(PRO-ARAB)

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"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 193 concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

- "1. The Communist International 'subsidized * * * the founding of the CPUSA's (Communist Party, USA) newspaper, Freiheit.'

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 51-101, Modified Report with respect to the Communist Party of the United States of America, December 18, 1956, p. 159.)

- "2. A 'Communist Yiddish daily.'

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)

- "3. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: DEC 18 1967

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'Soviet Aid to the Vietnamese People.'" Q

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on 12/4-8/67 from notes that CG 5824-S* had made of the original document while it was in his custody.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels regarding the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. J. J. [unclear]

A further reason for classification of the enclosed letterhead memorandum as "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" is because source advised that this document possibly could have been reviewed

- 1 ENCL 904
 ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
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REC-62

100-428091-6648

DEC 23 1967

Approved: [Signature]

79 JAN 8 - 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

by at least 200 to 300 persons in various languages as it was circulated to all the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties. Source advised he was entrusted with the original document and was responsible for its return to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and its review by the members of the CP, USA delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

December 18, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID TO
THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in December, 1967, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, a document prepared by the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), considered highly confidential, entitled, "Soviet Aid to the Vietnamese People," was circulated among the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of this document:

I.

The Soviet Union considered and continues to consider the rendering of aid to the Vietnamese people as its internationalist duty. "The CPSU," states the resolution passed by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on the report of the Central Committee, gave and shall continue to give its utmost support to the liberation struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people and render them political, material, and moral assistance. The firm and consistent stand of the CPSU and the

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-429071-6648

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

entire Soviet people is that United States aggression in Vietnam must cease, United States troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people given the possibility of deciding their internal affairs by themselves. Soviet assistance to Vietnam is of a versatile character consisting of military and economic aid and active political support of its heroic struggle.

The stand of the CPSU and the Soviet Government on the Vietnamese question was determined by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed by subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, CPSU.

The Soviet Union fully supports the program for the settlement of the Vietnamese question expounded in the well-known four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV). The stand of the DRV Government and the new program of the NLF express the aspirations of the Vietnamese people, fully conform to the Geneva agreements, and provide a reasonable basis for a peaceful political settlement in Vietnam. The new program of the NLF furnishes an important basis for the still greater consolidation of the Vietnamese people in a broad people's front against the American aggressors and their puppets for an independent democratic, peaceable, neutral, and prospering South Vietnam and for the country's peaceful unification.

The Soviet Union has rendered and continues to render the Democratic Republic of Vietnam considerable military aid which plays the main role in strengthening that country's defense capacity in supplying the Vietnamese People's Army with modern weapons and other material to repulse United States aggression. It should be noted that this aid is given in the form and on the scale which the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government consider necessary. All this military aid is rendered free of charge.

The Soviet Union delivered to the DRV a large number of anti-aircraft rocket systems, and rockets for them, thousands of anti-aircraft guns and machine guns, planes and helicopters of various types, airfield equipment, field guns, mortars, tanks, self-propelled guns, warships, tractors, rifles, various radio-technical means, engineering equipment, mobile repair shops for

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

all types of weapons, ammunition for the above weapons, and other material.

The USSR has sent to Vietnam large quantities of uniforms and equipment. The DRV receives almost all of its automobile transport and all its fuel from the Soviet Union.

The volume and time limits of the delivery of various armaments are stipulated by the Vietnamese comrades themselves. The USSR has speedily satisfied practically all the requests of the DRV for delivery of military equipment.

The scale of the military deliveries to the DRV can be gauged from the number of freight cars needed to carry this equipment from the USSR across China. In 1965, the Soviet Union turned over to China 2,029 cars of military equipment for the DRV. In 1966, this number rose to 3,698. In addition, in 1965-66, a total of 1,750 carloads of military equipment from Warsaw Treaty countries were turned over to China for the DRV. Moreover, over 80% of Soviet aid to the DRV is delivered by sea.

Vietnam was helped to set up a number of military training institutions. The Soviet Union is helping the DRV to train officers as well as military engineers, including specialists in the servicing of the equipment and armaments received from the Soviet Union. In Vietnam, Soviet specialists are training Vietnamese military personnel to handle Soviet weapon systems and, when the need arises, take a direct part in fighting off United States air raids.

A large group of servicemen from the Vietnamese People's Army are being trained at military schools in the USSR and they include anti-aircraft gunners, rocket gunners, airmen and other specialists. Some 2,000 specialists have completed training in the USSR and returned to the DRV. The Soviet Union, as the Vietnamese comrades have been informed, is prepared to train any number of DRV servicemen.

The supplies of military equipment from the USSR and the help in training military cadres have enabled the

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Vietnamese comrades to strengthen the country's anti-aircraft defenses. The DRV has formed rocket troops and a large number of anti-aircraft artillery and air units to protect the country's key centres against air raids.

It must be noted, however, that in helping Vietnam, the Soviet Union is coming up against many difficulties. The main difficulty is that neither the USSR nor other socialist countries with the exception of China have common frontiers with Vietnam. The resultant situation is that the most essential forms of Soviet military aid reach Vietnam in the volume which the Chinese leaders consider permissible and useful to themselves. While formally discharging the obligations it had undertaken, the Chinese leadership creates many difficulties during the transportation of Soviet military supplies across the territory of the Chinese People's Republic (CPR). Normally, deliveries should take nine to ten days to cross China, but actually these deliveries sometime take much longer--up to 45 and more days. Through the fault of the Chinese side, it has not been possible to deliver some types of weapons to the DRV.

The Chinese leaders consented (the agreement was signed in March, 1967) to let only 9,000 to 10,000 tons of freight a month or 100,000 to 120,000 tons a year across Chinese territory despite the fact that the actual requirements of the DRV in military freight, with due account of the additional deliveries earmarked for this year, add up to more than 30,000 tons a month.

Last May the leaders of the CPR did not allow the Soviet Union to send to the DRV transport planes and jet fighters whose urgent delivery was requested by the DRV Government. In September the Chinese leaders, referring to the supposed difficulties of the Vietnamese side in receiving and transporting armaments arriving from the USSR, delayed for nearly a month the transportation of trainloads with rockets for the DRV, despite the requests of the DRV leaders to expedite the deliveries of these weapons.

Under the corresponding treaties and agreements, the Soviet Union rendered the DRV considerable economic aid.

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Most of this aid--70% was channeled into the development of key industries in the DRV--went for electrical engineering, coal, chemical engineering, and other industries. Soviet aid was used for the building of the Hanoi machinery plant which provided the foundation for the Vietnamese engineering industry, and a super phosphate plant in Lamthao, the largest in Southeast Asia. The big enterprises built with Soviet aid include a tin plant in Cao-Bang, a apatite mine in Laocae, a power station at Wong-Bi, a fish cannery, two tea packing plants, and others. The Hangai-Kamfa coal basin was restored and considerably enlarged with Soviet assistance.

The enterprises built with Soviet aid play a key role in the economy of the DRV, accounting for a large share of the industrial output of the leading branches of the country's economy.

When the United States imperialists started their aggression against the DRV, the Soviet Union substantially increased its economic aid to that country to meet the requirements of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against this aggression. In 1965-67, the Soviet Government delivered to the DRV, without remuneration, metal-cutting lathes, forge and press, power generating and electrical engineering equipment, fishing vessels, diesel engines, pumping and compressor units, excavators, road building machines, lorries, passenger cars, special purpose vehicles, auto repair shops, automobile tires, means of communication, instruments, cables, wire, ferróus and non-ferróus rolled stock, steel products, fertilizer, medical equipment and instruments, medicines, and other goods.

Under a special agreement concluded in August, 1965, the Soviet Union provided the DRV with free material and technical assistance in the restoration of railways and bridges destroyed by United States aircraft. For this purpose, tractors, power cranes, excavators, bulldozers, bridge structures, switches, semi-automatic systems, means of communication, and other machines and materials were sent to the DRV.

The USSR is providing the DRV with technical assistance in enlarging and operating power stations and coal mines and in building pumping stations, a diesel engine plant, a radio

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

broadcasting and radio telegraph station, power transmission lines, and other important projects. The Soviet Union is helping the DRV to develop state farms and the building of irrigation systems and pumping stations.

The Soviet Union has delivered to the DRV large quantities of flour, milk products and other foodstuffs and consumer goods. A modern bakery, macaroni factory, and other food factories are being built in the DRV with Soviet assistance.

Furthermore, the DRV is receiving assistance in the setting up of research institutes. With Soviet aid, it has built a polytechnic institution with five departments and equipped the institution of agriculture and forestry. Hanoi University has been supplied with modern equipment and instructional aids.

At the request of the DRV Government, more than 2,000 Soviet experts in various economic spheres have been sent to Vietnam in the past several years. Moreover, Soviet scientists have been to the DRV to help train personnel directly in the country's institutions of learning. A considerable number of personnel for the DRV have been trained at institutions of learning in the USSR. More than 2,500 Vietnamese students were studying at the Soviet institutions of higher learning and technical schools in the 1966-67 academic year. Another 1,500 undergraduate and postgraduate students will come to the USSR before the end of 1967.

In June, 1966, in response to a request from the Government of the DRV, the Soviet Government agreed to accept up to 6,000 engineers, technicians, and workers for training and practical work in Soviet factories in the course of three years.

II.

The Soviet Union actively supports the liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam. In recent years the USSR has rendered the NLFSV considerable military aid. A large quantity of military equipment and weapons with ammunition has been sent to the South Vietnamese patriots.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "SOVIET AID
TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The NLFSV is receiving considerable material assistance from Soviet public organizations which have sent and continue to send the South Vietnamese patriots food, fabrics, clothes, shoes, medicines, bandages, medical instruments, and other items.

Aid is also rendered to the NLFSV by enrolling South Vietnamese students for training in the USSR. The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to receive South Vietnamese orphans and wounded soldiers of the Liberation Army of South Vietnam.

Parallel with rendering material assistance, the Soviet Union has taken a number of steps within the country in the international arena to rally broad moral and political support for the Vietnamese people, against United States aggression in Vietnam.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet Government, and Soviet public organizations have made repeated statements in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against United States aggression. The United States aggression against the Vietnamese people was emphatically and wrathfully condemned by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The Soviet Union welcomed the establishment in December, 1960, of the NLFSV as the principal, political organization expressing the will of the majority of the population of that country and undertook a series of political actions in its support. A NLFSV mission set up by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has been functioning in Moscow since April, 1965, with the consent of the Soviet Government. The NLFSV's permanent representative has been received by Soviet leaders on many occasions. A delegation from the NLFSV attended the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

Soviet public organizations are actively promoting the movement for solidarity with embattled Vietnam, organizing rallies and meetings at industrial enterprises, collective farms, and educational establishments. Last August, for example, a Vietnam solidarity month was arranged in the Soviet Union in which tens of millions of Soviet people took part. The Soviet press carries day-to-day reports of the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese patriots and exposes the criminal actions of the USA in Vietnam. These materials are also published in Soviet foreign language publications and circulated abroad.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

REC-4
EX 103

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/4 and 13/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 16 Encl 904
 (3) - Bureau (Encis. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-62

6 DEC 22 1967

Approved: *WAB*

Sent _____ M. Per _____

55 JAN 5 1968

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information contained in the enclosed LHM was furnished to the source while he was in Moscow, USSR, by a number of communist leaders including: RODOLFO GHIOLDI, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Argentina; NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; and YE. I. KUZKOV, Deputy to MOSTOVETS.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 18, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It was recently reported that about two hundred old-time members of the Communist Party (CP) of Cuba have been imprisoned by the Government of Cuba. In addition, Anibal Escalante, a former Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Cuba, is now under house arrest.

Lazaro Pena is currently the CP of Cuba representative at the World Federation of Trade Unions, headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia (a characterization of which is attached hereto). His behavior has been described as "atrocious"; he will take no position on anything and constantly straddles the fence. Another young Cuban working with him takes notes on everything he says.

C. E. - 6649

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100 000000-6649
ENCLOSURE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

1. Cited as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years * * *." "American supporters include the left-wing unions within the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 1.)

2. Cited as "Communist-dominated."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies,
 and for New York one copy, of an informant's statement
 captioned "JAMES SMID."

The information set forth in the enclosed
 informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S*
 on 12/12/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The information contained in the enclosed
 informant's statement will be separately disseminated
 to interested offices with appropriate cautionary statement.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 1 - A)134-46 Sub B 132

WAB:mes
 (6)

REC-62

6113

DEC 23 1967

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

67 DEC 29 1967

JAMES SMID

During November, 1967, Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, acting as the appointed representative of James Smid, 11305 Methyl Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44120, attempted to collect for Smid the payment of loans made by Smid to the USSR during 1936 and 1941. The amount of the loan, plus accumulated interest as of August 7, 1945, was \$5,948.79 and was deposited in the Bank for Foreign Trade of the USSR (Neshtorg), Moscow, USSR, and this amount was deposited in Bond Deposit Account Number 194. Hall was unsuccessful in his effort to collect these funds since Neshtorg advised that the notarized statement appointing Hall agent for Smid was invalid under Soviet law because the notary public had made an inked correction on the date of his commission in his notarizing statement.

- 1 -

100-428091-6650
ENCLOSURE

REC-4

ROUTE ^{FBI} ENVELOPE

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies, and for New York of an informant's statement captioned [REDACTED]

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/5/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The information in the enclosed informant's statement will be disseminated separately to interested offices with appropriate cautionary statement.

- 100-428091-6651
- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 1 - A) 134-46 Sub B 133

WAB:mes
 (6)

REC-62

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



US

()
[redacted] of Lem Harris, who is a long-time member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, as of November, 1967, was still living in Moscow, USSR, with her husband who is a Russian citizen. During November, 1967, [redacted] was in contact with Henry Winston, Chairman of the CP, USA, who was then also in Moscow. [redacted] requested Winston to intercede with Soviet authorities to obtain for her and her husband a better apartment than the one they have presently and with which she is dissatisfied. She also requested that assistance be obtained to get her husband into school. Winston was unable to do anything to assist [redacted] in these matters.

b6
b7C

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Re Bureau airtel dated 12/13/67, and letter 12/15/67.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of each of two corrected pages (Pages 1 and 5) of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned "Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, Moscow, USSR, November, 1967," dated 12/8/67, furnished to the Bureau by New York airtel of the same date.

Relative to the correct designation of the institute of which TIMUR TIMOFEYEV is Director, the following is noted. In the past, CG 5824-S* has indeed referred to this institute as the Institute of the International Workers Movement. The name of this institute has also been variously translated as Institute of the International Labor Movement (cf Chicago LHM by that title dated 12/11/67) and the Institute of the International Workingclass (or Working Class) Movement (cf "The Worker" dated 12/3/67, Page 6, top of Column 3; and "Daily Review," translations from the Soviet Press, published daily by the Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, USSR, Monday, 11/6/67, Article Number 3, Page 1, Paragraph 3).

1 encl 704
 ③ - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 1 - Chicago
 WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-62

100-428091-6652

RECORDED

6 DEC 22 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 3 - 1968

CONFIRMATION

CG 134-46 Sub B

In addition, the latter translation of the pertinent phrase is that given in the Russian language dictionaries available in this office.

Furthermore, the name of this institute has been rendered as Institute of the World Labor Movement (cf New York airtel 12/15/67, enclosure Page 1, Paragraph 1, wherein GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, utilizes this terminology in his address before that same institute. However, the translation utilized in the LHM dated 12/11/67 and on the corrected Page 5 submitted herewith is Institute of the International Labor Movement for the following reason. While in discussion with CG 5824-S* on this trip, TIMUR TIMOFEYEV, Director of the institute itself, personally wrote in English the name and address of the institute, and therefore this office has utilized TIMOFEYEV's own translation. In the interests of consistency and for indexing purposes, UACB Chicago will utilize the name designated by the institute's director TIMOFEYEV, "Institute of the International Labor Movement" in all future reference to this institute.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

December 8, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the
October Revolution, Moscow, USSR, November
1967

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, expressed the following opinions relative to the recent celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, which was held in Moscow, USSR, during early November, 1967.

For this celebration the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) brought together representatives of 55 Parties, some of which are Communist Parties and some of which are considered progressive but not Communist. Never before did the CPSU have that many Parties represented at their November Celebration. Among those gathered were some representatives from governments in the newly independent states and some that were not so new. At one of the Celebration functions there were representatives from the Government of India, a member of the opposition of Ceylon and the Finnish President sitting on the same stage.

If we want to speak objectively, we do know that this was a big event for the CPSU. They "proved" to the world that they can exist for 50 years and relate 50 years of progress despite the ravages of civil wars and World War II. Of course, one might say that perhaps Russia might have developed in any case, but that is hard to prove or disprove. On the basis of their history, they can "prove" that it never would have happened. They command the respect of many nations, even non-Communist nations and anti-Communist nations, and they claim the credit for the world development which has led to independence struggles and the achievement of independence for dozens of states that would never have been able to rid themselves of their colonial masters unless they could find some support as in the power of the Soviet Union.

When they state this, they also keep on emphasizing that they still believe in the policy of peaceful coexistence, for had they not believed in this policy, they say, they would

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'Relations of the USSR with Latin American Countries.'"

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on 12/4-8/67 from notes that CG 5824-S* had made of the original document while it was in his custody.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

A further reason for classification of the enclosed letterhead memorandum as "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" is because source advised that this document possibly could have been reviewed

10 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
(5)

REC-62 100-428091-6653
12/27/67
1/2/68
REC-62
REC-62

DEC 23 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 16 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

by at least 200 to 300 persons in various languages as it was circulated to all the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties. Source advised he was entrusted with the original document and was responsible for its return to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and its review by the members of the CP, USA delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

December 18, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "RELATIONS OF THE USSR WITH LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during December, 1967, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, a document prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), considered highly confidential, entitled, "Relations of the USSR with Latin American Countries," was circulated among the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of this document:

The Soviet Union has extended its relations with Latin American countries in recent years. In so doing, we are invariably guided by the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy which were further developed in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The policy of the USSR with regard to these countries aims to strengthen the positions of socialism in this part of the world, to render assistance to its revolutionary anti-imperialist forces. It is directed at weakening the hinterland of U.S. imperialism, deepening the contradictions between North American imperialism and the Latin American countries and creating obstacles to the aggressive aspiration of the U.S. on this continent.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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100-428091-6653
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downgrading and
declassification

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "RELATIONS OF THE USSR WITH LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In our state policy towards the Latin American countries we follow the line of establishing and developing normal relations between the USSR and these countries. We act on the principle that the establishment of diplomatic relations by the Soviet Union and the development of economic and cultural ties with it is dictated by the need to improve understanding among the peoples and to support the progressive forces in these states and not the prevailing regimes with their home and foreign policies.

Development of relations between the USSR and countries of Latin America facilitates the struggle of all the peoples against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and economic cooperation between all states, big and small.

We support the tendency of a number of Latin American countries to apply an independent foreign policy and to weaken their political and economic dependence on the USA. Elimination of the one-sided foreign, economic orientation of these countries and development of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states meet the interests of the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples, aids their struggle against economic domination, dictation, and blackmail by U.S. imperialism and facilitates their attainment of genuine independence. While extending ties with Latin American countries, the Soviet Union invariably seeks to assist in breaching the blockade of Cuba which the U.S. effects with the help of pressure exerted on these countries. We make use of every possibility to urge the Latin American states to change their position with regard to revolutionary Cuba.

The Soviet Government, undertaking actions with regard to individual Latin American countries, in each specific case carefully weighs its political and practical expediency. On questions of relations with a definite country, we, guided by the principles of international proletarian solidarity, take counsel with the perspective CPs, inasmuch as they better than anyone else know the situation in their countries and are able to judge what is beneficial and what is harmful for their countries

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "RELATIONS OF THE USSR WITH LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

for the development of the revolutionary movement in them. For the struggle of the communists this also fully applies to the countries of Latin America.

At present the Soviet Union, besides Cuba, is trading with six Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Mexico, and Chile.

Trade with these countries achieved so far is not very extensive. The share of the USSR in the foreign commerce of these six states is less than 1%. Trade relations of the Soviet Union with capitalist countries of Latin America are developing on the usual commercial terms accepted on the world market and at the prices prevailing there.

For a number of years, in exchange for the raw materials (oil, diesel fuel, pig iron, and cellulose) they need, we buy from these countries goods which are important for the Soviet economy like wool, hides, and vegetable and industrial oils, the need for which we cannot fully satisfy on other markets.

Moreover, in the recent period the Soviet Union had to import from Latin America certain quantities of wheat, rice, maize, and beans. This was caused by the need to replenish the losses sustained by our country as a result of a poor crop, to maintain the food stocks and carry out the obligations we assumed as our commitments in the delivery of foodstuffs to friendly countries; specifically, about 100,000 tons of maize for Cuba were bought in Mexico in 1966. The Soviet Union, for its part, is thus also interested for economic and other reasons in developing trade with a number of Latin American countries.

It must be said that Soviet imports from these countries regularly exceed our exports of raw materials. While in 1966, for example, imports from Latin America totaled 144 million rubles, exports amounted only to 34 million rubles. As a result, the Soviet Union has had an unfavorable trade balance with Latin American countries in recent years. This circumstance faces Soviet foreign trade organizations with the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "RELATIONS OF THE USSR WITH LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

alternative either to cover the unfavorable balance with Latin American countries by transferring considerable sums in convertible currency as we have been compelled to do until recently or try and expand exports of Soviet-manufactured goods to these countries, particularly machinery and equipment.

In the last twelve months, Soviet foreign trade organizations have succeeded in concluding agreements with a number of Latin American countries on the sale of Soviet plants and equipment. For example, the agreement with Brazil concluded in August, 1966, provides for the purchase of Soviet machinery and equipment for one hundred million dollars in four years; the agreement with Chile for fifteen million dollars in two years; and, the agreement with Colombia for about three million dollars.

Taking into account the granting of commercial credits in international trade of machinery and equipment, the USSR, in order to promote the sale of its goods, had to grant Brazil and Chile deferred payments up to eight years, usual in such cases, at an annual interest of three to four percent.

As for contracts concluded in 1967 between Soviet foreign trade organizations and Colombia, deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment to this country will be made for cash. Thus, the above-mentioned agreements provide for the sale of Soviet machinery and equipment to Brazil, Colombia, and Chile on the usual commercial terms.

In addition to various types of machinery and equipment, the Soviet Union is selling in Latin American countries complete sets of plants. Agreements for the deliveries of such plants were concluded with Brazil and Chile early in 1967. These agreements are also purely commercial, they do not come into the category of agreements on technical and financial assistance which the Soviet Union concludes with friendly countries.

The new agreements with Brazil and Chile differ from agreements on the sale of various machinery and equipment, as is customary in international trade; they call not only for the sale of complete industrial plants but also for their assembling, setting up, and commissioning. The financial terms of the new

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "RELATIONS OF THE USSR WITH LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES"

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agreements are similar to the previous ones. Thus, the agreement with Brazil calls for the sale by Soviet foreign trade organizations of complete equipment for a chemical factory with payment in eight years at an annual interest of 3.7%. The agreement with Chile provides for granting by foreign trade organizations of credits to Chilean State organizations and private firms for a total sum of up to 42 million dollars, with payment in eight to twelve years at an annual interest of 3.5%.

These facts reveal the nature of the economic relations between the USSR and the Latin American countries. They show that the aim of the Soviet Union is not to render financial and technical assistance to the ruling regimes in these countries but to conduct mutually advantageous trade to help undermine the monopoly position of the U.S. in the economy of Latin America.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
FBI

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/5/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 10-1 level 904
- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago

REC-62

WAB:mes
(5)

DEC 22 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 29 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 18, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

As of November, 1967, [redacted] the [redacted] of William Patterson, who is Honorary Chairman of the New York District and a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist Party, USA, was living in Moscow, USSR, and has resumed her studies at a university in Moscow, USSR. She has sent her baby, born in the United States, back to [redacted] Roberto Camacho Cabalero, who lives in Cuba, of which country he is a citizen. It is not known whether or not this arrangement is permanent.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445011-6654

ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/5-8/67 to SAS WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

DEC 22 1967

Approved: msj/eb
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 2 - 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM was furnished by LUIS CORVALAN, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Chile. The information contained herein was communicated to HENRY WINSTON, Chairman of the CP, USA, whose reaction was that if JOHNSON does not want to stay in Cuba then she can return to the German Democratic Republic or to Poland, unless she wants to "pull a POTASH." By this WINSTON was suggesting that JOHNSON may wish to attempt illegal entry into the United States (in the fashion of IRVING POTASH) and take her chances on resisting deportation.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 19, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It was previously learned that Beatrice Siskind Johnson, Havana, Cuba correspondent for "The Worker," the East Coast twice-weekly communist newspaper, had been making an effort to gain entry into Chile through the device of obtaining a Polish passport based upon her Polish birth. Since the Communist Party (CP) of Chile had allegedly offered Johnson a position on their newspaper, the CP, USA had requested the Polish United Workers Party to grant Johnson's request for a Polish passport.

It has been learned that the Polish United Workers Party has refused to issue a Polish passport to Johnson. The CP of Chile has also had second thoughts and have decided that it does not want Johnson either. It is feared that Johnson will not be able to enter Chile, even with a Polish passport, and even if she does enter Chile she may not be able to stay for very long since she is not a Chilean citizen.

As a result, Johnson must remain in Cuba for the present. Her current address is Hotel Sierra Maestra, Habana 223, Avenida 1^o (Entre 240), Miramar Habana, Cuba; Telephone 26561.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

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100-428091-6655

1968

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

R. [Signature] (Int)
F-118d

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies,
 and for the New York Office one copy, of an informant's
 statement captioned "VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN."

The information set forth in the enclosed
 informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S*
 on 12/5-13/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A.
 VILLEMURE. *2*

The information contained herein will be
 disseminated separately to interested offices, suitably
 paraphrased, and with an appropriate cautionary statement.

Lead got
2
 3 - Bureau (Encls *2*) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 1 - A)134-46 Sub B 134

WAB:mes
 (6)

REC-42

100-428091-6656

DEC 22 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 2 - 1968

VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN

Immediately after the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution was held in Moscow, USSR, during early November, 1967, Valentine Gregory Burtan arrived unannounced in Moscow and announced that he had been "summoned to Moscow" by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, and Henry Winston, Chairman of the CP, USA, both of whom were then in Moscow for the celebration. Both Hall and Winston disclaimed any knowledge of Burtan's trip, and refused to have anything to do with him.

Upon his arrival at the airport in Moscow, Burtan proceeded to the home of Harry Yaris, Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," and attempted to locate Hall and Winston through Yaris. Burtan was unsuccessful in this effort. In view of the crowded conditions in Moscow at the time the Russians had no place for Burtan to stay, but they did allow him to stay overnight at the Aeroflot Air Terminal Hotel. Subsequently, Yaris was able to obtain a room for Burtan at the Metropole Hotel. Burtan stayed in Moscow for about a week trying to locate the CP, USA leaders without success, and finally left stating that the CP, USA would have to pay for his trip and acting very displeased. Burtan then traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, and indicated that he intended to travel to Budapest, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

Upon his return to the United States, Burtan was in contact with Gus Hall and stated that during the course of his travel he had made some arrangements in the German Democratic Republic and in Hungary for tours in connection with his activities in behalf of Vogue Travel Agency. This information was given to Helen Winter, who advised that she does not believe Burtan and will not have anything to do with him. She stated that in arranging travel for CP, USA members she will deal directly with Jack Bjose who runs Vogue and she will inform Bjose that if he gives any of this business to Burtan she will not give Bjose any more business. According to Winter, Burtan keeps coming to the National Office of the CP, USA and wants to talk to various CP, USA leaders. She stated that Winston is mad at Burtan, James Jackson thinks he is no good, and neither Winter nor Dan Rubin will have anything to do with him.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) ~~(2)~~

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) ~~(S)~~

[SUBJECT: SOLO]
IS - C

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-3
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 12/19/87

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/8/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE. ~~XX~~

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. ~~(S)~~

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C. ~~SECRET~~ 115

ST-115

3) - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Chicago

[WAB:mes] (5)

116 Yagley, CIA State
CIA, NYC
12/27/67
116 Yagley
WBS

DEC 22 1967

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

[CG 134-46 Sub B] ~~(S)~~

CG 5824-S* advised that the meeting described in the enclosed LHM took place on 11/8/67 in Moscow, USSR. A delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam stayed in the same hotel as the Communist Party, USA delegation and, therefore, these delegations met with some frequency although the meeting described herein was the only formal meeting that was held. ~~(S)~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

December 15, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM
AND COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

During December, 1967, a source, who has
furnished reliable information in the past, advised as
follows:

A delegation of Communist Party (CP), USA leaders
recently returned from Moscow, USSR, where it had attended
the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October
Revolution which was held in Moscow, USSR, during early
November, 1967. While in Moscow, this CP, USA delegation
held a meeting with members of a delegation representing
the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV).
Among the CP, USA delegates at this meeting were Gus Hall,
General Secretary of the CP, USA, and Henry Winston, Chairman
of the CP, USA. The NLFSV delegation consisted of Dang Chan
Thi, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, NLFSV;
Dang Kuang Minh, member of the Central Committee, NLFSV, and
head of the permanent mission of the NLFSV in the USSR;
Pham Thi En, member of the Saigon Regional Committee of the NLFSV;
and Nguyen Nbbi (?), member of the Western Provinces Committee
of the NLFSV. It was reported that the essence of this
meeting was as follows:

CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP-3 tkb/lh*
REASON - FCIM 1-2.4.2 *2*
DATE OF REVIEW *12/19/82*
8/10/79 alw

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and
declassification~~

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nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation. It is the property of the Federal
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100-428091-6657
ENCLOSURE

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
NLFSV AND CP, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

~~SECRET~~

The Vietnamese stated that the NLFSV delegation was happy to be able to come to Moscow for the celebration and to have had the opportunity to meet the CP, USA leaders who are fighters against the common enemy of United States, imperialism. This meeting on Soviet land was called a symbolic sign that the friendship of the Vietnamese people and the people of the United States will develop even further. ~~X~~

There followed a discussion by a Vietnamese representative of the Committee for Solidarity of the Vietnamese people and the People of the United States which was established on October 16, 1967. The aim of the committee is to develop and strengthen the friendship between these two peoples. The aim also is to inspire the people of the United States to struggle for their rights both economic and political. The aim also is to support the United States peace movement in its campaign for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Vietnam. This committee is to help unite these two peoples in the struggle against United States imperialism. The NLFSV delegate expressed the gratitude of the NLFSV to the American people who are supporting the people of South Vietnam against United States aggression. ~~X~~

The Committee for Solidarity has a new program but it has not yet been published. The committee aims to make direct contact with progressive forces in the United States and in South Vietnam where troops are stationed. The committee is also seeking to establish relations with progressive forces in other countries as well as in the United States. This committee is ready to support United States soldiers who want to leave the war or want to emigrate to other countries. The committee now has four missions which are located in Prague, Algiers, Cambodia and Hanoi. Although this committee is young, this does not mean that Vietnamese friendship for the American people is only of recent origin. This friendship has existed for a long period, but now it is hoped to strengthen these ties of solidarity. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
NLFSV AND CP, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

~~SECRET~~

According to the NLFSV, this historic meeting with the CP, USA will strengthen their mutual struggle and aspirations further. The support of the CP, USA for the common struggle against United States imperialism will be long remembered by the Vietnamese people. The NLFSV hopes to achieve new victories, and stated that when they do, they will not consider these victories theirs alone - they are achieved with the help of the United States people and the CP, USA. ~~(S)~~

Speaking for the CP, USA, Gus Hall commended the Vietnamese for using their initiative in establishing this solidarity committee. He stated that this committee will help to strengthen contacts between the CP, USA and the NLFSV in the future. This close contact will be invaluable for the struggles of the CP, USA and for its general aims. ~~(S)~~

Hall stated that the friendship with the people of South Vietnam is very symbolic for the people of the United States. The American people will deserve the friendship of the people of the world only after they win the friendship of the people of South Vietnam. The CP, USA will deserve this friendship of the people of South Vietnam only if they fight hard against imperialism. ~~(S)~~

Hall stated that he wanted to express some thoughts on the problems of struggle of the people of the United States against the war in Vietnam. He stated there are two sides to these problems. On the one side there is the reaction of power as reflected in the policies of the Pentagon. This reaction of power dominates United States policy for the moment. But even within the ruling circles of the United States there is division and instability. On many questions there are possibilities to reverse the policies in United States Government and this is more than ever true today. It is the feeling of the CP, USA that it can drive to a point where it can force a turn in the policies of the United States Government. ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
NLFSV AND CP, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

~~SECRET~~

Hall stated that as far as the CP, USA is concerned, it fights on every level and there are many levels in the struggle against the war policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson. According to Hall, in many of the movements, the United States communists work without looking for credit - they are in the background. CP, USA members participate in many actions and many actions are initiated by the CP, USA. As an example, Hall mentioned the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace. At the present time there are only two thousand such executives involved. They are resisting the war not for moral reasons but for dollar reasons. According to Hall, one of the CP, USA members helped to initiate this committee. ~~2~~

Hall stated that there are two national movements in the Democratic Party against the re-election of President Johnson. Within the next few weeks, stated Hall, many newspaper advertisements will be published, signed by Democrats, stating that they will not support Johnson for President in the 1968 election. Hall stated that this movement also, although inside the Democratic Party, was organized by the CP, USA. ~~2~~

Hall continued that three days after the date of this meeting with the NLFSV there would be an important conference in Chicago, the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace. Of course, there is also the general broad movement for peace being carried on in the United States, and in this also the CP, USA participates. ~~2~~

In order to show the different levels of the movement, Hall pointed to the demonstration which was held in Washington, D.C., during October, 1967. Hall stated that if it were not for the activities of the CP, USA, this demonstration would have split into many splinter groups. According to Hall, there were one hundred fifty thousand people who were ready only to protest, whereas there were fifty thousand involved in more militant action. This demonstrates the levels of the movement. The policy of the ~~2~~

~~SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
NLFSV AND CP, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

~~SECRET~~

CP, USA, according to Hall, is to move those ready to move into more militant actions, while at the same time keeping the door open for those not yet ready to move on this level. The final solution to this problem is a mass political solution and, therefore, all levels of activity are needed.

Hall stated that difficulties are being experienced with some small left groups who see only a narrow struggle and do not see the general broad struggle. There is a group of ten or fifteen people who fly the flag of the Viet Cong and engage in other radical action which detracts from the appeal of the movement to the American people. In Hall's opinion such people are being financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. But despite all the difficulties involved, and Hall stated that he had no illusions, it is hoped that this movement might succeed in reversing United States policy. The resistance of the Vietnamese people to United States aggression, stated Hall, has been a rude awakening for the bourgeoisie in the United States.

The Vietnamese stated that they are glad to hear that there is a broad movement for peace in the United States and undoubtedly the CP, USA has increased its influence through this movement. They stated that they understand the difficulties and conditions under which the CP, USA works. The NLFSV is aware and glad that the peace movement is growing and spreading in the United States and that qualitatively it has reached a new level. The Vietnamese were glad to hear that the CP, USA is participating in this movement. They were also glad to hear that the Negro freedom movement is combining with the movement against President Johnson because of the war in Vietnam. They expressed their happiness concerning the protest movement of youth against the draft and about the fact that many youths have refused to serve in the Armed Forces. The Vietnamese indicated that they are aware that some people in the United States were emigrating to other countries and they have heard that the Canadians are helping those who go to that country.

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MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
NLFSV AND CP, USA, MOSCOW, USSR,
NOVEMBER, 1967

~~SECRET~~

They have also heard that some Americans refuse to pay that portion of their taxes which goes for military purposes. They said they had also heard that the veterans of World War II and Vietnam are organized in the United States and have participated in protests against this war. They have heard of the movement of United States mothers who demand the return of their sons from Vietnam. It was stated that only a week before they had heard that some trade unions in Japan wanted to contact those in the United States who work for companies which produce napalm.

According to the NLFSV representatives, in all their talks with their friends they stress not only the struggle of the people of South Vietnam but also the importance of the struggle of the people in the United States. In South Vietnam, they stated that they also wage a political struggle as well as a military struggle. They stressed that the United States protest movement against the war came into being quickly and on time. They stressed that this protest movement was in time even though United States imperialism has for a long time been trying to convert South Vietnam into a colony of a new type. They value this broad movement and united movement. They stated that they know that Americans have made sacrifices in this struggle against imperialist aggression. They think highly of the activity of women and youth. They expressed their pleasure that the protest against the war is now closely connected with the Negro movement for better conditions. They stated they are sure that the anti-war protest will continue growing and will become more decisive.

Gus Hall then expressed the hope that some CP, USA members will be able to visit South Vietnam in the near future to observe the work of the NLFSV. The Vietnamese representatives replied that such a visit by CP, USA members would inspire them and they promised to take this subject up with the Central Committee of the NLFSV.

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled [REDACTED] ALSO KNOWN AS [REDACTED]."

b6
b7c

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/8/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- ③ - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-42

66 58

6 DEC 22 1967

Approved: *mg/ep*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 2 - 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM was obtained by him during discussions in Prague, Czechoslovakia, with FRANTISEK KOPTA, a member of the International Department of the Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia, who works on matters concerning CPs in capitalist countries.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 19, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

[redacted] is the daughter of [redacted] and [redacted] former members of the Communist Party, USA, who returned to the United States in late 1962 after residing for a period in Czechoslovakia. [redacted] is married to a Czech citizen, Pavel Kratochvil, an oriental specialist who traveled to Great Britain for study at Cambridge. It was recently learned that the Kratochvils have bought a home in England and do not intend to return to Czechoslovakia. During their absence they retained their apartment in Prague, Czechoslovakia, for two and a half years. Their decision not to return has greatly angered the Polish authorities.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and
declassification~~

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100-428071-6658
ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for New York one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "POSSIBLE VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE USSR."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/5-12/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 100-428091-6659
- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-107

6 DEC 22 1967

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

55 JAN 5 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM was obtained by him in Moscow, USSR, during October and November, 1967, in conversations with the individuals named in the LHM.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C.
December 19, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE VISITORS TO THE
UNITED STATES FROM THE USSR

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Nikolai V. Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union, has indicated that he may come to the United States in the near future to attend some kind of conference, the nature and sponsor of which are not known. It was learned that Mostovets' wife is very ill and is not expected to live. Mostovets has requested that some medicines for her be purchased in the United States and sent to him since these medicines are either in short supply or are unavailable in the USSR.

Aleksei A. Grechukhin, formerly an assistant to Mostovets in the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, and now teaching on United States problems in a high Party school, is now in the process of writing another book and has indicated that he wants to come to the United States again. At this time he is trying to arrange such a trip.

~~CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-6659
ENCLOSURE

POSSIBLE VISITORS TO THE
UNITED STATES FROM THE USSR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Igor V. Mikhailov, a current assistant to Mostovets in the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, is extremely disappointed because his request for a visa to visit the United States has been turned down. Because such a trip would be very helpful to him in his present position he will continue to try to come to the United States. Mikhailov's office phone number at this time is K6-24-31.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FOURTH IN THE SCOPE

Date: 12/22/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

G. C. ~~ROSE~~
 CDR

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of an informant's statement captioned "MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA HELD IN MOSCOW, USSR, NOVEMBER, 1967."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE, on 12/14-18/67.

- 1 - 904 9th Street, New York
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-10

100-428091-6660

6 JAN 27 1968

Approved: MT
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 19 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

This information in the enclosed informant's statement is being furnished to the Bureau in the form of an informant's statement rather than a LHM in view of the fact that the substance of the discussion was primarily a statement concerning United States domestic affairs. The statements by the representatives of the Communist Party of Portugal contain little disseminable value.

Winston began the discussion with greetings and apologies for the fact that Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, was not present. He asked whether the CP, USA could do anything to help the Portuguese people.

Cunhal then made the following remarks: We are happy to meet with the representatives of the CP, USA, which is working under difficult conditions, even harder than working under fascist conditions, because the CP, USA labors within the fortress of imperialism. This is why the CP of Portugal respects American communists who are in solidarity with those who fight for liberation from United States imperialism. We are interested at this moment in certain problems, especially about the Negro movement in the United States. We need to know about the connections between United States Negroes and the political situation in the colonies. Stokely Carmichael has established relations with this front when he was in Algiers.

Jackson then responded in essence as follows: Carmichael has been traveling throughout the world since his attendance at the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity in Havana and has been making contacts all over the world. Carmichael is a product of the new wave of radicals participating in the Negro movement, with special ties to the petty bourgeoisie, the students, etc. He is being utilized by our enemies. Carmichael's book on Black Power was actually prepared in collaboration with a man from the State Department of the United States. Even though Carmichael talks radically, especially when abroad, our policy towards the new wave of the left is sometimes critical but is basically a policy of support when the new left is in line with the mass movement.

Ray Brown is prepared to be a "martyr" and perhaps he is sincere when he tells Negroes to get guns. We do not publicly oppose Brown but it is our view that this program would be a disaster for the people. These radicals are competing in radical slogans. Our policy has been to keep contact with these people but to remain critical at the same time. We are on the lookout to spot government agents operating in this movement and to sort out those who are sincere.

**MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA HELD
IN MOSCOW, USSR, NOVEMBER, 1967**

During early November, 1967, there was held in Moscow, USSR, a meeting between delegations of the Communist Party (CP) of Portugal and the CP, USA, both of which were in Moscow, USSR, as fraternal delegations to the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. The following individuals were present at this meeting:

Alvaro Cunhal - General
Secretary, CP of Portugal

R. da Silva - Secretary of
the Central Committee, CP
of Portugal

(FNU) Fosta - member of the
Central Committee, CP of
Portugal

Henry Winston - Chairman,
CP, USA

Albert J. Lima - member of
the National Executive Board,
CP, USA

James Jackson - member of the
Secretariat and National Executive
Board, CP, USA

of Henry
Winston

b6
b7c

Yuri Ivanov - member of the
International Department, Central
Committee, CP of the Soviet Union,
who acted as translator

Winston began the discussion with greetings and apologies for the fact that Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, was not present. He asked whether the CP, USA could do anything to help the Portuguese people.

Cunhal then made the following remarks: We are happy to meet with the representatives of the CP, USA, which is working under difficult conditions, even harder than working under fascist conditions, because the CP, USA labors within the fortress of imperialism. This is why the CP of Portugal respects American communists who are in solidarity with those who fight for liberation from United States imperialism. We are interested at this moment in certain problems, especially about the Negro movement in the United States. We need to know about the connections between United States Negro leaders and the patriotic front in the colonies. Stokely Carmichael has established relations with this front when he was in Algiers.

Jackson then responded in essence as follows: Carmichael has been traveling throughout the world since his attendance at the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity in Havana and has been making contacts all over the world. Carmichael is a product of the new wave of radicals participating in the Negro movement, with special ties to the petty bourgeoisie, the students, etc. He is being utilized by our enemies. Carmichael's book on Black Power was actually prepared in collaboration with a man from the State Department of the United States. Even though Carmichael talks radically, especially when abroad, our policy towards the new wave of the left is sometimes critical but is basically a policy of support when the new left is in line with the mass movement.

[redacted] is prepared to be a "martyr" and perhaps he is sincere when he tells Negroes to get guns. We do not publicly oppose [redacted] but it is our view that this program would be a disaster for the people. These radicals are competing in radical slogans. Our policy has been to keep contact with these people but to remain critical at the same time. We are on the lookout to spot government agents operating in this movement and to sort out those who are sincere.

b6
b7c

The CP, USA is for Negro power where Negroes are in the majority and for a share of power where Negroes are in the minority. But the truth is that the Negroes are a minority. The CP, USA works to get the United States Government to abolish discrimination and to establish equality for Negroes in the pursuit of jobs, in holding official office, etc., regardless of race in every field.

On an international level, the CP, USA considers it a positive development that some Negro leaders in the United States see their struggle in relation to the colonial struggle throughout the world. But Carmichael does not see the class struggle and sees only a world in relation to color of skin. We welcome solidarity with Africa, Latin America and Asia but at the same time we expose the falseness of relations based only on color.

Cunhal then stated that he does not understand Negro leaders in the United States. He asked, "Are they for integration or do they consider themselves a separate nation?"

Winston responded in essence as follows: I endorse Jim Jackson's thoughts but I must add that we take a very serious view of Stokely Carmichael's views.

I am drafting a statement on this situation which will be ready shortly. The entire Negro movement is concerned about the slogan "Black Power." There is a growth of adventurist policies. [redacted] recently said to a white audience that they should get a gun to help the Negroes or give money so the Negroes can buy guns. Thus the new slogan becomes "Black Power and Gun Power." There is no question that there are provocateurs from the CIA and the FBI working in these movements. Gangsters are also operating in these movements. Therefore, the aim can be seen to be to discredit the movement from within and from without.

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b7C

The Congress of Racial Equality is alarmed at this danger. Martin Luther King's movement is also alarmed at this movement and came to the CP, USA and asked what to do about it. They said that they are afraid to oppose [redacted] and others. They say they will be assassinated if they do.

b6
b7C

These people in King's movement ask the CP, USA this question because we have had experience in dealing with provocateurs, anarchists, adventurers, etc. The statement I am drafting will deal with this situation.

Carmichael is one of those who preaches guerilla war in the cities. This concept is totally unreal. He forgets that there are organized Negro masses in the United States in trade unions, etc. These masses need to be won. But in the face of this Carmichael counterposes guerilla warfare for the masses. Carmichael is associated with the Revolutionary Action Movement. Robert Williams, who is in Peking, is the leader of RAM. According to Carmichael, the white masses are hopeless. In his view the white world are all bourgeoisie, and all Negroes are proletarian original slaves. Carmichael travels to all countries except socialist countries because he considers the latter white. One of our CP, USA comrades came into contact with an Algerian black comrade who after a meeting with Carmichael accepted some of Carmichael's views and tried to detach our comrade from the movement for black and white unity. In Havana Carmichael criticized the CP, USA as "a millionaire's Party."

The concept of an "internal colony" of American Negroes is a dangerous concept. It is unreal and not based on fact. This was possible when the Negroes lived in contiguous territories. But today, seventy percent of the American Negroes live in the cities and are spread throughout the country's twenty industrial centers as minority groups in the ghettos. Therefore, the question of "Black Power" is too narrow. What it comes down to is that the Negroes want control of their own political and social life in their ghettos. They want to get a share of real power, economic, political and every other kind of power.

In response to a question by Fosta about the position of the Negro movement in relation to the war in Vietnam, Winston replied in essence as follows: We are proud of the position of the Negro movement relative to the imperialist war in Vietnam. The Negroes are against the war in Vietnam. The position of Martin Luther King against this war is well known. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People condemns this war in their New York Chapter and in their youth organization.

Cunhal then stated in essence as follows:
The information which you gave us is very important for us because we have close relations with the freedom or liberation movement in all the Portuguese colonies. Some of our people have contact with Carmichael and also with Peking and Havana. Carmichael is a disrupting force. Our representative in Algiers told us that Carmichael is a disrupting force. What you have told us will help us. We will inform our comrades in the Portuguese colonies to limit Carmichael's influence and expose him.

Winston then stated that Cunhal should know that the rebellions in the ghettos are spontaneous and are not organized by Carmichael. These arose out of social conditions.

Jackson then remarked that the television companies use people like Brown and Carmichael. Carmichael is a five minute sensation on television and he immediately becomes a national figure.

Winston stated that so far the riots in the American urban ghettos have not been directed against the trusts. But if the Negro fights alone, separated from whites, this will guarantee his defeat.

Cunhal and da Silva then asked about the prejudices of white workers and whether or not there is Negro-white solidarity in the communist movement in the United States. Winston replied that there are prejudices among white workers but that the CP, USA places the question of the workers solidarity in terms of unity of black and white. The workers unity can be achieved first in an alliance to support the demands of the Negro people.

In response to a question from Winston as to whether the CP of Portugal can detect new forms of United States imperialist penetration in Africa, Cunhal responded in essence as follows: This question cannot be answered in detail. In Portugal the struggle against the fascist regime is intense. Our situation can best be explained by reference to the colonial war which the Salazar Government is conducting. While on the one hand this war creates conditions for struggle, on the other hand it is an excuse for the fascist regime to engage in repressive measures. The CP of Portugal calls this colonial war "criminal." The communists organize desertions

and sabotages of the war both on the homefront and at the battlefront. As a result, the communists are called "traitors" and this brings more repression.

The meeting closed with warm words of solidarity and sentiment being exchanged between both delegations. Cunhal presented to Winston a special issue of the central organ of the CP of Portugal which was printed in the Portuguese underground and which was dedicated to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Cunhal remarked at the time of this presentation that some Portuguese communists have been in the underground for twenty years.

ROUTED TO FILE

Date: 12/21/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/13-15/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1-904 940 with memo
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-10

Approved: M. W. J.
 67 JAN 4 - 1968 Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 21, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During early November, 1967, a delegation from the Communist Party (CP) of South Africa attended the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution which was held in Moscow, USSR. The members of this delegation with the titles ascribed to them are listed below:

Moses Kotane - General
Secretary of the CP of
South Africa

J. B. Marks - member of the
CP of South Africa and executive
member of the African National
Congress (in exile)

Joe Matthews - leading member of
the CP of South Africa and Secretary
of the leading committee of the African
National Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-6661

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information set forth in the enclosed LHM was obtained by him at a meeting which took place in Moscow, USSR, during the early part of November, 1967, between delegations of the Communist Party (CP), USA and the CP of South Africa. The identities of the South African participants are set forth in the LHM; in addition to CG 5824-S*, the CP, USA participants included GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, and HENRY WINSTON, Chairman, CP, USA.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In view of these developments, the South Africa liberation movement needs the most important international support and solidarity ever. The American "Black Power" group represented by Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael made every kind of "offers" of support, but such offers were featured in the broadcasts of the Voice of America but have not achieved substance as yet. What is needed is real support. The struggle in South Africa is not merely a local struggle. The international involvements of South Africa make this struggle important.

The government of West Germany supports the fascist government of South Africa. There are many Nazis in high positions in South Africa. Many kinds of monopolies are operating in South Africa which are from West Germany although they pose as indigenous groups. Actually, West Germany produces weapons, gas and nuclear weapons in South Africa. South Africa is a big producer of uranium. President De Gaulle of France is still supplying South Africa with military weapons. The United States and Great Britain do their arming of South Africa indirectly through NATO, Portugal and Rhodesia. This is building up a power base in South Africa which threatens all of Africa. The mercenaries used throughout Africa are mainly from South Africa. South Africa is expanding its economic foreign aid using "pliant" or "client" states in Africa.

For all of the above reasons, the CP of South Africa is anxious to enlist the cooperation of its comrades in the United States, France, the German Democratic Republic and elsewhere. Another reason for this desire for cooperation is an ideological reason - the race problem. The 1962 program of the CP of South Africa elaborates the race and national problem.

Kotane continued the discussion. The reason why the liberation movement in South Africa joined with the movement in Southern Rhodesia is because South Africa created a ring around Southern Rhodesia. This country is a young independent African state which has been very helpful to the South African liberationists. That is why the CP of South Africa and the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

African National Congress joined with Zimbabwe and Southern Rhodesia and have been fighting bravely. The British have been trying to forestall this movement and the United States is always in the background threatening the movement and its aims. That is why it is necessary to expose these imperialists because the British may get back into Southern Rhodesia under the guise of keeping law and order.

Kotane listed the following material needs of the liberation movement in South Africa. Money is needed first of all in order to buy things such as Land Rovers, trucks, etc. Medicines, clothing and uniforms are also needed. These items of clothing should be green in color. Men's underwear is also needed. In addition, there is a need for radios, even ordinary receiving sets, transmitters, canned foods, etc. Every CP can choose what they can give but American dollars are the best. There is a need also for ordinary clothing and not just military uniforms.

Marks stated that it is not the intention of the liberation movement in South Africa to fight a conventional war against the South African Army, which is a strong Army. Their purpose is to use men who have been trained and have had practical fighting experience and to get them back into South Africa to join the local population and to get arms into the hands of the local people.

Matthews and Marks then discussed the situation in the trade unions. It was stated that South African trade unions do operate and have even won improvements for the workers such as was the case for the food cannery workers. Thus the ordinary underground work goes on but the people must be made to realize that they have an armed force fighting on their side. Although trade unions have not been declared illegal, nevertheless the law for the suppression of communism is used to cripple the leadership and force them to flee into exile.

Africans are not considered employees. Therefore they cannot form a trade union. The white workers have a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The legal instrument used by the government was the "Anti-Communist Act." This law carried heavy penalties, including exile and ten years imprisonment. This law was used against anyone, even for advocating mere reforms. In 1962 the government introduced drastic amendments to the Anti-Communist Act which added new clauses on the suppression of communism. On the basis of these amendments, the government can arrest anyone for no reason and hold the individual for ninety days, and this ninety days imprisonment can be renewed for ninety additional days indefinitely. These amendments also provide for house arrests and other means of repression.

In 1963 the government carried out raids and mass arrests and tortures which resulted in the government obtaining much information and many witnesses to use against the liberation movement. This was a severe blow against the liberation movement and a setback for its plans. The CP of South Africa and the African National Congress had to face a new situation requiring regrouping and reorganization.

The people of South Africa in the liberation movement played an outstanding role and succeeded in the reorganization of the movement. The Party and the movement are once again on the march and are on the offensive. The "Spear of the Nation" is fighting in Rhodesia also and has inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. As a consequence, the government of South Africa has even intervened in Rhodesia. This guerilla movement is much wider now and has spread to Zimbabwe, Angola and in South-West Africa also. This is a spreading guerilla war against the fascist government and it is a phase which will occupy the main attention of the Party and the African National Congress.

For the first time in history, two liberation movements are coordinating their fight against their oppressors. This movement is growing and will embrace other liberal movements besides. It is a fact that the governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are coordinating their efforts and cooperating, and therefore the liberation movement must do the same.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

monopoly on the skilled jobs in the mines. Africans are excluded from these positions. In Africa there is an aristocracy of labor based on race. So the racists use this aristocracy to give Africans skilled work at unskilled pay. Actually, the trade union movement in South Africa represents the whites. The trade union organizations which are more right wing are allied with the government Parties. There are, however, some progressive unions also which do have some white workers. This is the Congress of Trade Unions, which is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions (a characterization of which is attached hereto). Thus the trade unions have split the working class.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

1. Cited as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years * * *." "American supporters include the left-wing unions within the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 1.)

2. Cited as "Communist-dominated."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

12/27/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Field Supervision Folder)
1 - Mr. W. G. Shaw

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 12/11/67, enclosing copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'Subversive Activities of the Chinese Leadership in the National Liberation Movement.'"

The information in re LHM on page three, paragraph one, and on page nine, paragraph one, second sentence is not clear. It appears that some words have been omitted. Promptly advise of the necessary corrective action concerning these items. In addition, your office should make the following corrections of typographical errors noted in re LHM:

Page two, paragraph one, line three; page two, paragraph four, line seven; and page give paragraph two, line 14, Latin-American (hyphenated).

Page two, paragraph one, line three, peoples'.

Page four, paragraph one, line three, trades.

In the future give more care to preparation and approval of communications being forwarded from your office in captioned matter. In view of the high-level dissemination made of the information in this case, it is imperative that such information is completely accurate.

WGS:cst
(5)

REC-10

100-428091-6662

6 DEC 27 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

67 JAN 4 - 1968

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 12/20/67

To:

☒ Director

Att.: Voucher Statistical Section

FILE 100-428091

Title So/ok

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

IS-C

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

RE:

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial #

☐ Post

☐ Recharge

☐ Return

☐ Send to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Re NY airtel 12/18/67, captioned as above. Paragraph 2 of re airtel inadvertently reference NY 65-17696-A1391. This should be changed to 100-134637-1B 215.

ADIC

JFM SAG John F. Malone

☒ See reverse side

Office New York

F B I

Date: 12/18/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
(ATTN: VOUCHER STATISTICAL SECTION)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

TRAMUS

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2519 xerox pages of money representing \$240,000.00. Of this amount \$150,000 is in \$50.00 denominations, \$50,000 in \$10.00 denominations and \$40,000.00 in \$20.00 denominations. This represents part of the \$500,000.00 received by NY 694-S* from the Soviets on 12/2/67.

Records of these bills should contain the reference "NY ¹⁰⁰⁻¹³⁴⁶³⁷ ~~65-17696-41391~~". It is also requested that the record contain the page number of the xerox, which may be found on the lower right hand corner of each sheet.

The enclosed material should be returned to the NYO after processing.

- 4 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 2519) (RM)
 (1 - Voucher Statistical Section)
 1 - New York (65-17696) (343)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JFL:gmd
(7)

REC-71

81-103

6 DEC 22 1967

67 JAN 5 1968

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 26 1967 Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Done*

DATE: December 19, 1967 *5/1/80*

FROM : *G. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: *0* **SOLO**
INTERNAL SECURITY - C *5-12-1967*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 12/19/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 164 GR 122, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents. *Q*

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure *Q*

ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:ccb
(7) *1145*

REC-71

100-428091-6664

6 DEC 22 1967

ST-106

1145
67 DEC 28 1967

12/19/67

NR 0164 GR 122

12/19/67

89641 84176 31006 03678 44348 01613 31702 94126 60748 57184
04637 65907 95758 65883 62543 90513 09507 76164 08536 25890
34691 99688 18815 78292 32413 25858 37045 66039 26263 44285
54008 92143 99896 99257 03153 70660 66410 33030 08253 90328
61346 53268 57237 00311 36460 32946 02310 90007 54625 45423
26606 51323 43281 54958 91493 10561 56352 18211 25415 79361
41405 08754 52521 69809 32649 66813 06845 19211 15976 19005
01213 64626 30134 92132 01313 21095 50569 10498 47330 77733
34395 56178 29616 09244 19275 09351 95125 90622 86120 60933
29866 01408 40678 14658 14600 56228 94887 41008 25164 05292
62501 96226 61127 88787 38152 20950 79206 95952 41931 80966
33269 77936 75966 34801 49402 19653 16406 80206 44213 72610
48116 93570

NR 0164 GR 122

12/19/67

#1# SISTERSSUGGESTEDFOR#1968#AREO.K. EXEPTFREDAWHIC
HWE COULDNOTLOCATE. CHECKONCEMOREGIVENADDRESS. #2# DU
KE#DUKE#SCHEDULEFORJANUARY. WEDNESDAY#1228#GMTFREQUE
NCY#12171# ^{#1248#} ~~RECEIVED~~ ^{08#} ~~13197#~~ ~~13828#~~ ~~14482#~~
CALLING#6#L#3#*#6#L#3# FRIDAY#1231#-#11512#.#1251#
-#12585#.#1311#-#14551# CALLING#93#Z*#93#Z. CONFIR
MRECEPTION.

100-428091-6664
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 12/19/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
(ATT: FBI LABORATORY)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 12/19/67, there were received from the Soviets, via radio, two ciphered, partially coded messages, the plain texts of which were as follows:

- (1) "Drops suggested for 1968 are O.K. except Freda, which we could not locate. Check once more given address."

(Re above, see New York airtel, 11/17/67).

- (2) "Radio schedule for January: Wednesday 1228 GMT frequency 12171., 1248-13197., 1308-14482. Calling 6L3. Friday 1231-11512., 1251-12585., 1311-14551. Calling 93Z; confirm reception."

- 4 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
(1 - FBI Laboratory)
1 - Chicago (134-46-SUB B) (AM RM)
1 - New York (134-91) (INV) (41)
1 - New York (105-14931-SUB C) (TALANOV) (341)
1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

ACB:gmd
(9)

REC-71

100-428091-6665

ST-115

DEC 22 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 DEC 28 1967

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
Date: 12/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/4-8/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
(5)

REC-71

REC-4

SI-105

6 DEC 27 1967

Approved: [Signature]
55 JAN 13 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM was obtained by him during the course of a meeting in Moscow, USSR, on 11/10/67 between delegations of the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the CP of Argentina, who were then in Moscow for the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Participating in this meeting, in addition to CG 5824-S*, were the following:

~~RODOLFO GHIOLDI~~, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, CP of Argentina

~~Miss (FNU) RODRIGUEZ~~, leading member of the CP of Argentina

GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA

HENRY WINSTON, Chairman, CP, USA

JAMES JACKSON, member of the Secretariat and National Executive Board, CP, USA

ALBERT J. LIMA, member of the National Executive Board

CG 5824-S* advised that the only remarks of consequence at this meeting were those of GHIOLDI, which are contained in the enclosed LHM.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA~~

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In November, 1967, a statement concerning the situation of the Communist Party (CP) of Argentina was attributed to Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, CP of Argentina. The essence of Ghioldi's comments are set forth below:

Ghioldi stated that the new anti-communist law in Argentina is a virtual copy of the McCarran Law in the United States. The situation in Argentina amounts to a "dictatorship of gorillas." Although the mass movement in Argentina is very strong, unfortunately there is no unity as yet. If there were a united peoples front, the dictatorship would not last. The dictatorship has no base. All Parties in Argentina have declared themselves against the anti-communist law. All trade unions have gone on record against the dictatorship. The educational community, including the students, are against the dictatorship. All lawyers have declared themselves against the anti-communist law. This means that the entire country is against the anti-communist law and the dictatorship, with the exception of a small group of industrialists, bankers and big landlords.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428071-6666

RECEIVED

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The dictatorship is in a crisis, but it is being salvaged by the International Monetary Fund and by United States bankers. But United States markets are closed to Argentina's products and United States capital has not come in to Argentina.

The Common Market in Europe is also closed to Argentina and, therefore, the crisis is being intensified. Not only the working class and trade unionists, not only peasants and students, but all groups of the national bourgeoisie are opposed to the dictatorship because of the suffering it is causing. Therefore, there is a developing struggle against the dictatorship. This gives the CP of Argentina an opportunity despite the conditions of illegality. It has roots in the working class movement, first of all in the trade union movement.

Argentina also has the problem of Peronism, which grew in a good economic situation. Wages went up and attracted peasants to industrial centers. These came even though they had no political experience. Peron made concessions and permeated these people with nationalism.

The CP of Argentina sent its members to work inside the Peronist unions among the masses. Communists became leaders of the masses in the struggle even under Peron. After Peron, the economic situation deteriorated. Although Peron still has some influence, it is not great.

The masses in Argentina have become more oriented towards class struggle. The masses are demanding unity with the communists. In factories, the CP of Argentina wins elections on joint slates with the left - Peronistas and the Social Democrats, although the top union leadership is in the hands of reactionaries. Of course, the government controls the elections. Despite this, the CP of Argentina is winning in the unions of railroad, chemical, government employees, agricultural workers, etc. The leadership of the trade unions remains in the hands of right wing Peronistas.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mass pressure forces these right wing leaders to use left phrases. Sometimes, even they accept joint action with the CP of Argentina, but they try to blunt the struggles. Peron's advice was to use communists, but do not let them into leadership.

It is a complicated situation but the CP negotiates with top leaders just the same. The CP of Argentina is negotiating with the Radical Party, with former President Arturo Illia's Radical Party, the Christian Democrats, the Peronistas, and others. But the front against the dictatorship is not yet a reality.

The CP of Argentina works in many mass movements. There is a big movement against the high cost of living. There are also movements to protect oil resources, human rights, for peace, for solidarity, against the war in Vietnam, etc. The CP of Argentina can have no legal movements, but these movements cover themselves within those organizations that are legal. The CP of Argentina also works in the church.

The CP of Argentina is intact and protected its organization. But there are four hundred political prisoners in Argentina, mostly communists. The CP of Argentina continues to publish a legal press, "Our Word," with a circulation of forty-five thousand. The CP of Argentina publishes a theoretical monthly and also re-edits the "World Marxist Review," the international theoretical journal of the international communist movement. The "World Marxist Review" is actually published inside Argentina. The CP of Argentina has also just finished publication of the complete works of Lenin, Volume 44-45. The CP of Argentina also works in the working class communities. There is a total of one hundred twenty-five thousand in the CP and in the youth.

Fortunately the CP of Argentina did not suffer a crisis as a result of the situations in China and Cuba. But recently a disruptive group, chiefly students, appeared within the youth calling itself a communist youth. This is due not only

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

to Chinese influence but also as a result of work organized by Havana. Unfortunately the CP of Argentina cannot denounce these youths or Cuba. The CP of Argentina has to defend the revolution. But harm from this group is not great. The CP of Argentina is trying to capture this group from within.

The CP of Argentina did not help organize the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). It was not invited to the meeting of OLAS but if invited the CP of Argentina would have participated. But the CP of Argentina is against guerilla warfare without a revolutionary situation. It stands for broad mass movements.

The Peronistas represent some sections of the national bourgeoisie. But Peron personally is the magnet for some and has close ties with capital in West Germany, like Mercedes Benz. Peron is a big stockholder there and also has millions in the New York Stock Exchange.

Peron is an admirer of MAO Tse-tung and Charles De Gaulle. Peron says he is fighting to impede United States imperialism and Soviet imperialism at the same time. The dictatorship represents United States capital first of all, and next British capital. Great Britain is the chief Argentinian market. In 1966, when the military coup took place, Peron made overtures to the dictatorship, but now he opposes it. Juan Carlos Ongania's dictatorship is a creature of the Pentagon not the United States State Department.

The liberal United States press influences Argentineans. Comment in the press in the United States on the anti-communist law of Argentina will be well received, especially comment urging resistance to the law. United States politics influence Argentina. Hatred of the United States is strong in Argentina, but on the other hand admiration for liberalism and progressivism is also strong. The peace demonstrations and the struggles of the Negro masses are admired by Argentineans.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Relations between the CP of Argentina and the CP of Uruguay are cordial. The CP of Argentina respects the CP of Uruguay and its mass movement. Recently, some differences arose between these two Parties on the question of OLAS. The Uruguayan communists want to stimulate guerilla war, not in Uruguay but in other Latin American countries. The CP of Argentina disagrees. The Party in Uruguay published a letter from "Che" Guevara in their theoretical organ. That was wrong. They could have published it as news, but not as a program the way they did.

The CP of Argentina's attitude toward OLAS is that the CP of Argentina believes in a center but only for unity of action, not a centralized organization. Fidel Castro wants to dictate to all Latin American Parties. OLAS is a narrowing movement which repels allies, instead of broadening them. The CP of Argentina's cordial relations with the CP of Uruguay are necessary, and are good for solidarity. Mutual assistance is exchanged between these two Parties.

According to Ghioldi, Victorio Codovilla, Chairman of the CP of Argentina, is dying. He is in a hospital but there is nothing that can be done for him. He is getting worse and it looks as if his case his hopeless.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

12/22/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re NY airtel 12/15/67 which contained information about Paul Melvin Albert. Reairtel requested the Bureau to advise if this information should be furnished Los Angeles, which is origin in the Albert matter, and WFO.

A paraphrased version of this information is being furnished Los Angeles and WFO under the Albert caption with instructions to intensify the Albert investigation.

NY 694-S* should be alerted to the necessity for promptly reporting any additional information received concerning the activities of Paul Melvin Albert and the Bureau should be immediately advised if any such data is received.

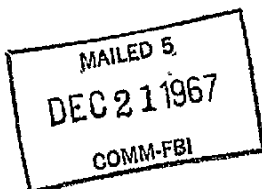
1 - Chicago (134-46)

RCP:cst
(5)

NOTE:

NY 694-S* developed information concerning Albert's alleged participation in inducing Senator Eugene McCarthy to enter the Presidential primaries. It is essential that we furnish the other offices involved this information so that the investigation can be pressed to develop fully all information available concerning Albert's activities.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



REC-71

SP-103

6 DEC 22 1967

67 DEC 28 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison

December 21, 1967

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The following was supplied by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

Leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have been given a report on remarks made by Le Chang, Deputy Ambassador to the Soviet Union from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). In essence, this report is as follows.

The North Vietnamese have mastered the technique of firing the antiaircraft missiles supplied by the Soviet Union and are giving a good account of themselves in the battle against United States aircraft. All citizens of North Vietnam are trained to fire weapons. North Vietnam is receiving new types of weapons from the Soviet Union, and these weapons will surprise the forces of the United States.

The "Three Ready Movement" has been formed in North Vietnam and is composed of 3,000,000 youth. Participants learn to carry on agitational propaganda, to continue working under all conditions, and how to use weapons. As a result of this training, the civilian population has had many successes and even women shoot down United States aircraft with rifles. Civilians compete with one another to get credit for shooting down aircraft or capturing prisoners.

North Vietnam is attempting to carry out propaganda against United States troops in Vietnam. However, there is no way for the North Vietnamese to measure the success of this propaganda. The Communist Party, USA, was requested to determine how successful this propaganda is and to give some ideas on how it could be improved. The North Vietnamese would appreciate it if someone from the Communist Party, USA, could go to North Vietnam to help in this propaganda work.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

RCP:cst
(13)

EX-103

REC-22

100-428091-6668

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JAN 2 - 1968

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Communist Party, USA, was requested to advise the North Vietnamese when communists or individuals who object to the war are sent to combat in Vietnam. Such individuals should be instructed not to shoot the Vietnamese troops, to surrender, and to induce others to surrender with them. If this is not possible, these individuals should leave notes with military information behind when breaking off contact with Vietnamese troops.

The Communist Party, USA, was also requested to furnish the North Vietnamese with information and films on the war in Vietnam obtained from the press and television in the United States.

On the political front, the Communist Party, USA, was asked to (1) demand immediate withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam, (2) demand an immediate halt to all bombing in North and South Vietnam, and (3) pay particular attention to the new political program of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, which differs in a number of ways from the old political program.

NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated December 20, 1967, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RCP:cst.

Data extracted from Chicago airtel 12/12/67, captioned "Solo."

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation.

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CBH*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison

DATE: December 20, 1967

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

[Handwritten signatures]
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan *[initials]*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

This memorandum advises of remarks made by an official of North Vietnam, which remarks were reported to leaders of the Communist Party, USA. It recommends dissemination to the White House and other top officials.

BACKGROUND:

CG 5824-S*, while on Solo Mission 24 to the Soviet Union, conferred with Le Chang, Deputy Ambassador to the Soviet Union from North Vietnam. The results of this conference have been furnished to the leadership of the Communist Party, USA. During this conversation, Le Chang related the following:

The North Vietnamese have mastered the Soviet antiaircraft missiles and are giving a good account of themselves in the battle with United States aircraft. Three million North Vietnamese youth are organized in the "Three Ready Movement," in which they learn how to agitate, work under all conditions, and use weapons.

The Communist Party, USA, was asked to assist North Vietnam by determining the success of North Vietnamese propaganda against United States troops in Vietnam and in finding ways to improve this propaganda. North Vietnam would appreciate it if a member of the Communist Party, USA, could go to North Vietnam to help in such propaganda work.

Enclosures *sent 12-21-67*

100-428091

RCP:cst
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

6 DEC 28 1967

EX-103
SENT DIRECTOR
12-21-67

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

The Communist Party, USA, has been requested to advise the North Vietnamese when communists or people who oppose the war are sent into combat in Vietnam, to inform such people not to kill Vietnamese, to surrender, and to induce others to surrender with them. The Party was also requested to inform such individuals to leave notes containing military information behind when breaking off contact with Vietnamese troops.

The Party was also asked for information and films on the war in Vietnam from United States press and television. On the political front, the Party was asked to (1) demand immediate withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam, (2) demand immediate halt to all bombing, and (3) to pay particular attention to the new political program of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, which has a number of differences when compared to the old program.

Attached is a summary of this information.

ACTION:

It is recommended that the attached summary be furnished to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Attorney General, and the Deputy Attorney General.

RP
W.C.S.
W.C.S.
W.C.S.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTED IN 11/1/67

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub C)

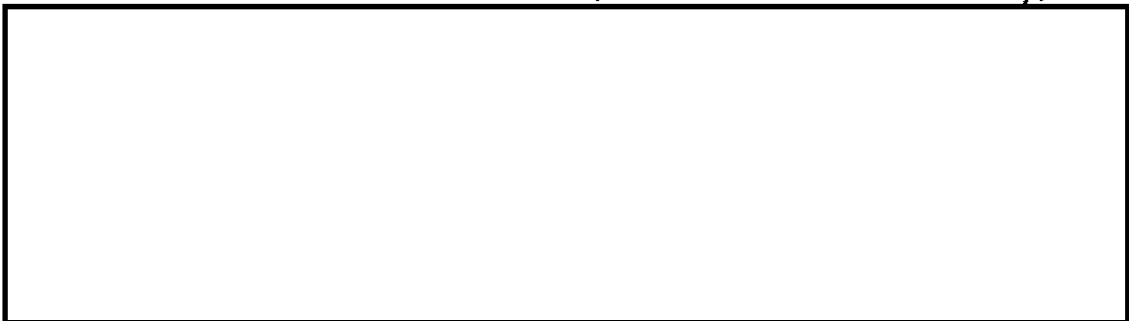
SUBJECT: SOLO
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)
IS - C

DATE: 12/21/67

S- R. B. [Signature]

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a CP, USA National Committee member and chairman of CP, USA National Negro Commission is being considered as a possible replacement in the SOLO apparatus.

LIGHTFOOT can be classified as a long-time loyal CP member and a staunch supporter of GUS HALL. Inherent in his personal life, however, are marital, medical and financial troubles. *ms*



b6
b7C



b6
b7C

100-428091-6669
1 - Bureau (RM)
~~(1 - 100-108)~~
1 - New York (100-98699)
1 - New York (41)

REC 22

6 DEC 28 1967

JAH:rmp
(5)

EX-103

S- [Signature]



62 JAN 2 - 1968

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637-Sub C

On October 13, 1967, CG 5824-S* advised as follows:

LIGHTFOOT has now begun to espouse a different theory. He is in the process of writing an article for the "Political Affairs" issue dealing with the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution on the subject of Negro Freedom and backward countries. LIGHTFOOT develops the theory that the developed Communist countries should leave other less developed countries alone. Until they can show that they are better than some of the Western countries, nothing can be done to communize Western countries.

If the above is true, it represents almost heresy. It represents revisionism. He admits the failure of Communist countries to equal the imperialist countries and suggests that the long-held Marxist tactic of proselyzation be held in abeyance until the Communist countries prove themselves.

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F B I

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: DEC 26 1967

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'The Position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Israeli Aggression in the Middle East.'"

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on 12/4-8/67 from notes that CG 5824-S* had made of the original document while it was in his custody.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

A further reason for classification of the enclosed letterhead memorandum as "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" is because source advised that this document possibly could have been reviewed

- 1d ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
(5)

REC-52
EX-103
1/3/68
WES/Barry

100-428091-6670
6 DEC 29 1967

Approved: my/ra

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

67 JAN 9 - 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

DEC 26 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT
ENTITLED, "THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN
THE MIDDLE EAST"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in December, 1967, advised as follows:

During November, 1967, a document prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), considered highly confidential, entitled, "The Position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Israeli Aggression in the Middle East," was circulated among the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution held in Moscow, USSR.

Set forth below are the contents of this document:

The Israeli aggression against the Arab countries was one of the most tense and acute moments in the development of international relations in recent years. The causes of Israeli aggression, backed by Western imperialist circles, the USA above all, are a link in the general chain of international imperialist policy. The most reactionary bellicose imperialist circles, headed by the U.S., losing their positions and pressed by the socialist system, the working class, and national liberation movement, are stubbornly trying to alter the world balance of forces, to undermine the liberation struggles

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-428091-6670
ENCLOSURE

CG 134-46 Sub B

by at least 200 to 300 persons in various languages as it was circulated to all the visiting delegations of the Communist and Workers Parties. Source advised he was entrusted with the original document and was responsible for its return to the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union and its review by the members of the CP, USA delegation to the 50th Anniversary celebration.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum was shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

NY 100-134637-Sub C



b6
b7C



b6
b7C



b6
b7C



b6
b7C

The Bureau will be promptly advised of progress
in this matter.

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE POSITION OF
THE CPSU ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of the peoples, to hamper their advance along the road to social progress, and to constantly maintain international tensions. This policy is manifested in the actions of the imperialists in Vietnam; in Europe, a greater activity of revenge-seeking forces in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the fascist putsch in Greece, the imperialist intrigues in Cyprus, in Africa, and Latin America.

The Western powers, the U.S. and Britain, in the first place, have considerable imperialist (oil and strategic) interests in the Middle East. The imperialists especially hate advanced Arab states like the United Arab Republic (UAR), Syria, and Algeria. Having shed colonial oppression, these states continue to wage a constant struggle against imperialism. They have effected big domestic socio-economic changes, are following the road of social progress, and consolidating friendship with the Soviet Union and with the socialist camp.

Faced with the prospect of losing its strategic bridgeheads in the Middle East, fearing for the interests of the oil monopolies, international imperialism long ago has been hatching plans to stop the advanced Arab states from following the road of social progress. The imperialists of the U.S., Britain, and other countries are fully aware that time is working against them, that the progressive regimes in the Arab world are further strengthened with each passing year. They are afraid lest other Arab Eastern countries follow the example of these states. That is why the imperialists are out to overthrow the progressive regimes in the UAR, Syria, and Algeria, and are looking for a convenient occasion.

International imperialism has assigned Israel the part of a direct tool in carrying out these plans. The ruling circles of this state during most of its history have held an aggressive position with regard to neighboring Arab states. They have closely linked their interests with international Zionism, with the interests of the big imperialist powers, especially the U.S.

The aggression of Israel against the UAR, Syria, and other states has been prepared over many years. The Western powers, above all the U.S., Britain, West Germany, and also

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE POSITION OF
THE CPSU ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

France, have supplied the Israeli Army with the latest armaments and material designated for offensive operations. For many years the imperialists kindled discord between Israel and Arab states; Israel's Army and the entire population were brought up in the spirit of hatred for and an irreconcilable attitude towards the Arab states.

To conceal the real causes of the conflict and to disorient world opinion, the imperialists are trying to picture the Middle East conflict only as a consequence of national discord between Arabs and Jews. This false version was desired to conceal the grave essence of the events, to camouflage the fact that actually it is not so much a conflict of a national character as a confrontation between the forces of imperialism and the forces of national independence, democracy, and social progress.

Long before the conflict, the notion that the "free world" is supposedly acting in "defense" of Israel's existence as a state gained wide currency in the West. Attempts were also made to shift responsibility for the Middle East conflict on the Soviet Union which, rendering support to progressive Arab states, was supposedly impelling them to destroy the State of Israel. Needless to say, this is a complete distortion of the Soviet Union's policy.

The principled policy of the Soviet Union in the Middle East has been and is dictated by the interests of alliance with the national liberation movement, with progressive countries which have discarded the yoke of colonialism, and also with the security interests of southern frontiers of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. In their policy, the CPSU and the Soviet Government have proceeded from the decisive consideration that progressive Arab states have become the bulwark of anti-imperialism in the Middle East and that their advance along the road of socio-economic reforms strengthens the common front of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

Guided by this, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have rendered and are rendering all-round political,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE POSITION OF
THE CPSU ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST"

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economic, and military assistance to the UAR, Syria, Algeria and some other Arab states. These states, first of all the UAR, Syria, and Algeria, receive more than one-third of the entire economic and technical assistance rendered by the USSR to the developing countries. About 280 industrial and other projects have been built or are under construction in Arab Eastern countries with Soviet assistance of which 133 projects have already been commissioned. Soviet assistance is of primary significance in developing the national economy of advanced Arab states and in creating the material prerequisites and eliminating economic dependence on imperial states. It helps strengthen the internal political positions of progressive regimes in the Arab East.

The armed forces of the advanced Arab states are equipped with Soviet weapons and weapons of the other socialist countries. The USSR has provided them with a large quantity of military aircraft, tanks, guns, rocket installations, and anti-aircraft systems, warships, and other modern weapons. In the main all requests of the UAR, Syria, Algeria, and some other Arab states for assistance in armaments have been satisfied. Almost half of all weapons have been supplied free of charge. A large number of military specialists of Arab countries have been trained in Soviet military schools.

Rendering all-round support and assistance to progressive Arab states in their just struggle, we have also conducted and are conducting extensive political work among public opinion of these countries. The CPSU acts on the principle that the people who head the advanced Arab states, of course, are not Marxists. They have risen on the wave of Arab nationalism which, as the nationalism of all nations oppressed in the past, to use Lenin's words, is lawful and historically justified. At the same time, Lenin also drew attention to the other side of nationalism of oppressed nations--its inclination to go to extremes to advocate racial and national exclusiveness. This, in particular, has been manifested in the calls of some Arab leaders "to wipe" the State of Israel from the face of the earth, etc., which were utilized by imperialist propaganda to justify before world opinion Israel's aggression against the Arab states.

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The leaders of Arab states and national democratic parties, who stand here at the helm proclaiming their socialist orientation and carrying out social reforms, naturally did not get rid of the ideology of nationalism at once. In the period of transition from the old colonial order to the new life, ideological and political weaknesses cannot but make themselves felt, weaknesses inherent in these leaders and the parties they head are weighed down by the prejudices of the environment from which they come. Defining its attitude toward advanced Arab countries, the CPSU, above all, bases itself on the fact that in real life, in practical activity, the socialist calls of national democratic parties actually serve as a programme of revolutionary action directed both against the imperialist colonialists and against their own big bourgeoisie. Experience shows the broader and diversified the ties of the CPSU and other CPs with them, the more possibilities are created for influencing them in a positive way.

The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, aimed at supporting advanced Arab states, is the only correct policy with regard to countries which have rid themselves of colonial dependence and are choosing the path of social progress.

As for the attitude toward the State of Israel, the Soviet Union proceeds from recognition in principle of the right of each people to create an independent national state. That is why the USSR in 1947 voted for the decision of the UN to set up on the territory of the former British colony of Palestine two independent states, Jewish and Arab, and then established diplomatic relations with Israel. The Soviet Union has taken a stand not against the State of Israel, not against the Israeli people, as slanderously asserted by the imperialists, but against the aggressive policy of the Zionist circles of this state, a policy serving international imperialism. Israel has become a tool in the hands of the imperialists against the Arab peoples defending their national independence and legitimate rights. The situation in the Middle East was thoroughly analyzed at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, CPSU, held in June, 1967. That plenary meeting fully approved the political line and practical activity of the Political Bureau of the

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Central Committee aimed at stopping Israeli aggression and its supporting the UAR, Syria, and other Arab states subjected to attack and at preventing the dangerous consequences of aggression for world peace.

Concerning the actions of the USSR with the object of cutting short the military conflict in the Middle East, on the eve of the aggression the Soviet Government acted vigorously to stop the peace-endangering course of events. The most serious warnings were repeatedly served on Israel. The Soviet Government statement of May 23, 1967, aimed to prevent a breach of the peace and security in the Middle East. At the end of May and early in June, the Soviet Government did everything in its power in the UN to weaken the pressure of the Western powers on the UAR and frustrate their provocative plans in respect to the Arab countries. At the same time, making use of Soviet-Arab top level contacts, specifically during the visit to the USSR of Badran, who was then UAR Defense Minister, and President Atasi of Syria, the Soviet side drew their attention to the need for refraining from actions which could be utilized by Israeli ruling circles as a pretext for launching hostilities.

When Israel unleashed the military conflict in the Middle East, the Soviet Union resolutely supported the UAR and other Arab countries. On June 5th the Soviet Government issued a statement in which qualifying Israel's actions as aggression it resolutely condemned Israel and demanded an urgent measure for liquidating the military conflict that Israel at once and unconditionally discontinue military operations against the UAR, Syria, Jordan, and other Arab states and withdraw its troops from behind the armistice line. The same demands were contained in the message of A. N. Kosygin, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, USSR, sent on June 5th to (Levi) Eshkol, Prime Minister of Israel. Simultaneously, the Central Committee, CPSU, and the Soviet Government took urgent measures to render military assistance to friendly Arab countries by urgent delivery of aircraft and other armaments to the UAR. An understanding was reached with the Revolutionary Council of Algeria concerning the urgent transfer of fighter planes from Algeria to the UAR which saved considerable time.

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The Soviet Union undertook to replace these planes to Algeria, and began airlifting them to Algeria.

The Soviet Government stepped up its diplomatic efforts, particularly in the UN, seeking to insure maximum international support to the Arab countries. In the meeting of the Security Council, convened on June 6th, the Soviet delegate, upholding the interest of the Arabs and seeking to cut short Israel's reckless venture, prevented the adoption of an American draft resolution which actually encouraged Israel's expansionist aspirations.

During those days, the USSR made particular efforts in the Security Council at the request of UAR leaders to achieve a cease-fire as the first step. But notwithstanding the repeated decisions of the Security Council adopted on the initiative of the USSR, Israel, secretly encouraged by the imperialists of the U.S., Britain, and FRG, far from stopping hostilities against the UAR and Jordan, launched military operations against Syria. In this situation, the Soviet Union, for its part, was compelled to take over measures to stop the aggression. On June 7th, the Soviet Government demanded the cessation of hostilities by Israel in conformity with the decision of the Security Council and served warning that otherwise the USSR would break diplomatic relations with it and consider the question of applying other necessary measures. On June 10th, diplomatic relations with Israel were broken and the Soviet Government stated in the form of an ultimatum that if the aggression were continued, the Soviet Union, together with other peace-loving states, would apply sanctions with regard to Israel with all the consequences following therefrom. Following the USSR, other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, also broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

After this serious diplomatic demarche, the Soviet Government made new speedy deliveries of planes, tanks, and other materials to the UAR, Syria, and Algeria by air and by sea. Of great importance was also the presence of a squadron of Soviet warships in the Mediterranean which acted as a restraining factor on the Sixth American Fleet. At the moment of crisis in the Middle East, a meeting of leaders of parties and governments of European socialist countries was convened in Moscow, USSR, on

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June 9th, on the initiative of the CPSU. The meeting adopted a statement in support of the Arab peoples and against Israeli aggression. The socialist states participating in the meeting demanded that Israel at once cease hostilities against Arab countries and withdraw its troops from their territory beyond the armistice line. The very fact that such a meeting of leaders of socialist states was convened and the determined stand it took had an important effect on the subsequent course of events, once more convincingly proved the joint actions of socialist countries are highly effective as a factor restraining the aggressive circles of international imperialists.

One more important aspect of the Soviet Government's diplomatic struggle in defense of the interests of friendly Arab states was also of exceedingly great significance. In those tense days the Soviet Government brought constant pressure to bear on the Government of the U.S. demanding that it utilize its influence on Israel to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities. Thus, during the morning of June 10th, an urgent message was communicated to President Johnson that if Israel did not stop its aggression within the next few hours, the USSR would be compelled to take the actions it considered necessary.

At 7:00 p.m. on June 10th, Israel stopped hostilities on all fronts. Thus, the facts show that during the days of the military conflict unleashed by Israel, the Soviet Union acted determinedly but with discretion, fully aware of its responsibility for the destiny of the world, striving to defend the Arab countries which became the victim of imperialist aggression and sustained a military defeat, to extinguish the flames of the local war in the Middle East and prevent it from developing into a world conflagration. It is also necessary to note that the actions of the USSR at the moment of crisis, particularly in the UN, met with full understanding of the leaders of the Arab states which were attacked by Israel. They constantly stressed that they, by no means, would want the Soviet Union to become involved in this armed conflict.

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After the cessation of hostilities in the Middle East, the struggle was transferred in the main to the political arena. The U.S. imperialists and their accomplices are trying to utilize the maximum in their own interests of the situation that has arisen in the Middle East because of the military reverses of the Arabs which were a result of the low fighting efficiency of their armies, the incompetence of top ranking military commanders, the absence of proper coordination of action between the armed forces of the Arab states and direct conspiratorial activity of reactionary elements in the Army. The imperialists are doing their utmost to drag out the solution of the new problem--the withdrawal of Israeli forces. All actions of Israel on the captured Arab landsshow that Tel Aviv is trying to gain a firm grip on these lands. An Israeli occupation administration is set up there which introduced draconic orders for the indigenous Arab population. Many thousands of Arab refugees have been driven from their lands. The decision of the Israeli Parliament on the actual annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem, which has already been twice vigorously condemned by the UN General Assembly, is in flagrant contempt of international law. The natural wealth of the occupied Arab territories is being looted.

The facts show that in the new conditions, the ruling circles of Israel and their Western patrons continue to pursue the former imperialist aims. They are only changing their tactics. The imperialists utilize the territory captured by Israel to exert pressure on the Arab countries trying to dictate their demands on the Arabs from positions of strength.

Fearing that Arab unity will be strengthened on an anti-imperialist basis, the Western powers and Israel are endeavoring to drive a wedge between the Arab states, force them to give up their common anti-aggressor line of action, compel them to cope with the aftermath of aggression in separation from one another and thus allowing the imperialists to get the type of "settlement" they want. Insofar as the latest developments in the Middle East have convincingly shown that the Soviet Union is a reliable protector of the Arab world, the imperialists and the reactionaries employ their forces to sow mistrust for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries among the Arabs.

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When the nervousness and confusion caused by military failures had abated, the Arab people became aware of the actual state of affairs and there was a new upsurge of sympathy and friendship for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the part of Arab states. The fact that the broad democratic public of all the Arab countries, the official circles of Jordan, a country where forces supporting the West are still holding important positions, are manifesting their wish to strengthen relations with the Soviet Union, is a striking manifestation of the growing trust for the USSR, recognition of its role as a friend and defender of the Arab peoples.

Attempts to turn the international crisis in the Middle East to their advantage were made by the Chinese leaders who played a provocative role in those developments. They launched a fresh smear campaign against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. In messages to the leaders of the Arab states, CHOU En-lai (a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CP of China) bluntly incited the Arabs "to continue the war at any cost," and "not to agree to any peaceful settlement." This was another evidence of the course of the MAO Tse-tung group aimed at aggravating the international situation, provoking a clash between the USSR and the USA and unleashing a world war which would be waged by others.

The CPSU worked hard to neutralize the influence of the anti-communist Western propaganda and the slanderous campaign of the Peking splitters. Special messages were sent to the leaders of the Arab states, in particular to Nasser (President, United Arab Republic (UAR) and Zu'Ayyin (Prime Minister, Syrian Arab Republic) drawing their attention to the danger inherent in the attempt to provoke a quarrel between the Arabs and the USSR and undermining their unity. This issue was also discussed during personal meetings of Soviet leaders with statesmen of the progressive Arab states.

Thanks to the tremendous explanatory work carried out by the Soviet Union and other socialist states, certain positive changes shaped the attitude of that part of the world public which was previously inclined to support Israel. An important

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role in bringing about this change was also played by the fraternal CPs which quickly understood the situation and adopted a principled stand.

Dwelling on the principled policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government with regard to Israel's aggression against Arab states, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev (General Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU) in his speech to the graduates of the military academies on July 5th said, "The Soviet Union is firmly and decisively supporting the Arab states in their fight for freedom and territorial integrity and is rendering them all-round assistance."

Taking account of the aims and tactics of the imperialists, the CPSU considers it extremely important to concentrate the attention of the world democratic public on the need to work for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor forces from Arab territory. Thus, conditions will be created for isolating the aggressors, rendering active assistance to the Arab countries who were victims of aggression and preventing a fresh military flare-up in the Middle East. Moreover, this also has an enormous significance of principle. If Israel is given the chance to use the fruits of its aggression, it will be a direct encouragement of aggression and a threat to people and peace in other parts of the world.

The CPSU and the Soviet Government are doing their utmost to frustrate Israel's calculations aimed at winning favorable bargaining positions at talks for a political settlement through using the occupied Arab lands as a "trump" and turn these calculations against Israel itself. The exposure of Israel as an aggressor before the whole world is the best possible way to demonstrate that today the policy of aggression yields dividends to no one.

The UN has become a major arena of the diplomatic struggle for the liquidation of the aftermath of Israeli aggression after the cessation of hostilities. On July 13th the Soviet Union tabled a resolution in the Security Council demanding condemnation of the aggression and the withdrawal of Israeli forces beyond the armistice line, which, however, was not adopted due to the opposition of the Western powers, primarily the USA.

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Nevertheless, the Soviet Union in the Security Council unmasked the imperialist policy of the USA and Britain which supported the expansionist ambitions of the Israeli militarists. This, in turn, helped mobilize world democratic opinion and win its support for the legitimate demands of the Arab states.

An important stage in the fight of the peace-loving states for the speediest eradication of the consequences of Israeli aggression was the extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly which was convened on June 19, 1967, at the request of the USSR. The head of the Soviet Government, Comrade A. N. Kosygin who attended the session, outlined a comprehensive programme for regulating the Middle East conflict. At the session the Soviet Union acted in unison with other socialist states and with the progressive Arabs and other peace-loving states.

The extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly made the question of liquidating the consequences of Israeli aggression the focal point of world public opinion. It clearly showed that an overwhelming majority of the UN member states condemned in one way or another the aggressor and defended the rights of the Arab states.

Although the General Assembly, due to the stand of the USA, its allies and other countries which gave in to U.S. pressure, was unable to adopt a decision on the chief issue, that of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory they seized, its major political result was that in no uncertain terms opposed recognition of the results of Israeli aggression and reiterated the principle that force cannot be used for territorial aggrandizement. Many speakers at the session convincingly showed up the predatory character of imperialism which everywhere is trying to subjugate those people who do not want to reconcile themselves to the colonial plunder and the policy of international banditry. All this made it difficult for Israel and its imperialist backers to carry through their criminal plans against the Arab peoples,

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and gave the latter the possibility to muster their forces.

The question of eradicating the aftermath of Israeli aggression is also on the agenda of the 22nd General Assembly.

Speaking on behalf of the Soviet Government at the plenary meeting on September 22, 1967, Soviet Foreign Minister Comrade A. A. Gromyko declared, "Condemning Israeli aggression, the Soviet Union considers that the withdrawal of Israeli troops beyond the line they had occupied before June 1, 1967, is the first thing that has to be done in solving the Middle East question. Further, it is necessary that the Arab states, the UAR, Syria, and Jordan, should receive compensation for the material losses sustained as a result of Israeli aggression and the continued occupation of part of their territory. Israel must fulfill the UN decisions on Jerusalem, otherwise, the Security Council will have to undertake sanctions against Israel. The Soviet Union is willing to participate in the observance of such a decision."

The Israeli aggression did not help the imperialists achieve their chief aims--to overthrow progressive regimes and to restore imperialist domination of oil monopolies in this area. Nonetheless, Israel's treacherous attack, the military setbacks of the UAR, Syria, and Jordan and the occupation of a considerable part of their territory--all this created a rather serious situation for the progressive Arab countries.

In these circumstances, the CPSU and the Soviet Government deemed it necessary to send Comrade N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the UAR, Syria, and Iraq to furnish support to their progressive regimes and for contacts and talks with their leaders.

During Comrade Podgorny's tour of the Arab states, important questions concerning the further all-round development of friendly relations and cooperation between the USSR and the UAR, Syria, and Iraq were discussed.

The aggressor forces are still several tens of kilometers from the capitols of Arab states. This is a serious threat to their security. Therefore, the Soviet Union considers the strengthening of defenses of the Arab states as a reliable means of increasing their efficiency to stand up to Israel and the imperialist forces

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behind it. Soviet military delegations were sent to Cairo and Damascus in conformity with agreements reached with Egyptian and Syrian leaders. A visit of Soviet naval vessels was organized to Port Said and Alexandria to support the UAR.

The Soviet Union is urgently delivering the necessary armaments and military equipment to the UAR, Syria, Iraq, and Algeria. Soviet deliveries of the basic types of armaments have already made up for the losses of the UAR and Syria during the Israeli aggression. The military and technical efficiency of the Algerian and Iraqi Armed Forces is likewise being increased. In this connection, it is most important that the military equipment delivered by the Soviet Union be efficiently mastered and that the Armed Forces of the leading Arab states are strengthened and their fighting capacity heightened. The leaders of the Arab states are taking the necessary measures in this respect.

It is obvious, however, that by itself the withdrawal of Israeli troops cannot automatically solve the crucial Middle East problems. It is necessary to adopt a constructive stand for their solution. This is all-important today considering that in some countries the internal reaction is rearing its head, attempting to use military defeat to politically discredit the existing progressive governments and seek their overthrow through coups, that is, to do in effect what failed to take place during military operations. The reaction is trying to use to its own advantage the extreme nationalistic slogans in the struggle against Israel.

The initiative and the efforts of the Arab countries to work out joint constructive positions for finding a solution to the Middle East problems are of great significance. The Soviet Union is maintaining contact and holding consultations concerning further steps in this direction with some of these states, particularly with the UAR, Syria, and Algeria. The USSR is also seeking the support of other countries, Asian and African above all.

The socialist countries are continuing to make a major contribution to finding a solution of the Middle East problems. The world attached great significance to the

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Budapest conference held on July 11-12, 1967, of the leaders of the Communist and Workers Parties and heads of socialist states who signed the declaration of July 9th. Having analyzed and discussed the latest developments in the Middle East, the participants of the Budapest conference once again reiterated that they decisively support and will continue to do so the friendly Arab states in their just fight for the eradication of the consequences of Israeli aggression, and first and foremost for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory. They arrived at the unanimous opinion that the Middle East problems should be solved by political means.

According to the general view of the participants of the conference, the interests of the speediest solution of the problems of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory they had seized require the stand of the Arab states to be more realistic and, consequently, acceptable to the majority of UN members. An important step in this direction would be to combine the demands for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops with a formula on the termination of the state of war. A flexible, realistic stand of the Arab states would have shown the world that their policy conforms to the peace-loving principles underlining the UN charter. This could substantially facilitate political negotiations for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied areas which are Arab territory.

Of course, in this case, too, the USA and its supporters would have tried to set up all sorts of obstacles to prevent the UN adopting a resolution on the withdrawal of the Israeli troops. But the positions of the imperialists would have been weakened while conditions for the progressive forces would become more favorable.

The participants of the conference believe that it is also necessary to exert greater influence on the non-aligned countries. Today, not all of them correctly assess the significance of the fight of the Arab states to eradicate the consequence of aggression. This is seen both in the voting in the General Assembly and in the speeches of the representatives of some non-aligned countries, especially some African states.

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The Budapest conference did more than just discuss the political aspect of the issue. Much attention was also devoted to furnishing economic and military assistance to the Arab states. Account was taken both of the current requirements in this sphere and the prospects for expanding and consolidating the economic basis of the Arab countries that are enforcing an anti-imperialist policy.

The participants of the conference agreed that their representatives should hold a meeting in Belgrade to discuss some aspects of economic cooperation, including measures which could promote industrial and agricultural production in the Arab states. At the meeting held on September 4-6, 1967, in Belgrade, representatives of the socialist countries informed each other of the current state of their economic cooperation with the Arab states and also exchanged views on measures which socialist countries could undertake to expand their economic ties with these states for the purpose of helping them develop their national economy and strengthen their independence. The leaders of the leading Arab states were in due time informed of the results of both the Budapest and Belgrade conferences.

The Soviet Union launched a series of urgent measures to increase its economic assistance to the Arab countries that had suffered from Israeli aggression. In addition to deliveries made in accordance with the already concluded agreements, the Soviet Union will give the UAR and Syria 32,500 tons of various foodstuffs (sugar, fats, canned foods, etc.) and medicine, free of charge. Complying with the request of the UAR Government, the Soviet Union has boosted its deliveries of food grain (wheat) in 1967 which in the main met the UAR's requirements in this item of import.

Considerable financial sums for rendering urgent assistance in food and medicine to the Arab population which has suffered from Israeli aggression were also allotted by Soviet public organizations, including the trade unions. A large scale movement of solidarity with the peoples of the Arab states was launched in the USSR, and the funds voluntarily donated by the population were sent to the UAR, Syria, and to the Arab refugees in Jordan. The Governments of these countries were

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informed that the Soviet Union was ready to send voluntary medical groups to assist the population which had suffered from aggression.

The Soviet Union considers it of paramount importance to insure the various projects being buileet with Soviet assistance in the UAR, Syria, and other Arab countries with all the necessary materials on time and in the quantities required. Prime significance is attached to the launching of the first section of the hydro-electric station in the Aswan complex scheduled in 1967.

Thus, the Soviet Union is rendering the Arab states which have become victims of aggression all-round political support in their just struggle for their legitimate rights and considerable assistance in restoring and developing their economy and in strengthening their defense capacity. Together, with other socialist states, it is doing its utmost to eradicate the consequences of Israeli aggression and explore ways for a constructive solution of the Middle East problem. This policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in defense of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples enjoys the support of the entire Soviet people.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/26/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "PEOPLES PARTY OF PANAMA."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/18-20/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
 (5)

REC-52

100-428091-6671

Approved: myl
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

67 JAN 9 - 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the information contained in the enclosed LHM was obtained during a meeting between the delegations to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution from the Communist Party (CP), USA and the Peoples Party of Panama, which meeting was held on 11/13/67 in Moscow, USSR. CG 5824-S* advised that the identities of the individuals who represented the Peoples Party of Panama are unknown to him. The CP, USA delegation which participated in this meeting included CG 5824-S*; GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA; HENRY WINSTON, Chairman, CP, USA; JAMES JACKSON, member of the Secretariat and National Executive Board, CP, USA; and ALBERT J. LIMA, member of the National Executive Board, CP, USA.

The Peoples Party of Panama furnished several addresses to the CP, USA for communication between these two Parties. Literature can be sent to: Libreria Aurora, Apartado 41, Panama 9A, R. de Panama. Confidential communications can be sent to the following commercial address and the communication should be phrased in commercial language: Fenal S.A., Apartado 46, Panama 9A, Republica de Panama. In turn when sending confidential communications to the CP, USA, the Peoples Party of Panama were given the following Solo drop address for such communications: Mr. L. MEADOWS, P.O. Box 5878, Chicago, Illinois 60680. CG 5824-S* also advised that JAMES JACKSON created a difficult situation for GUS HALL in connection with this meeting with the Peoples Party of Panama. Previous to this meeting JACKSON had individually met with an individual from the Peoples Party of Panama and in response to the Panamanian's request had promised that the CP, USA would furnish the Peoples Party of Panama with \$30,000 for the purchase of printing equipment. Naturally, GUS HALL was loathe to fulfill such a promise and during the course of the actual meeting described herein GUS HALL did not reiterate or in any way acknowledge such a promise by the CP, USA.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 26, 1967

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PEOPLES PARTY OF PANAMA

During December, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the first part of November, 1967, a delegation from the Peoples Party of Panama was in Moscow, USSR, to attend the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. It has been reported that while in Moscow this delegation voiced its opinions relative to the situation in Panama from the viewpoint of the Peoples Party of Panama. The essence of this statement was as follows:

The problems connected with the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone are, of course, of prime importance. As is known, the United States still maintains extra-territorial rights in the Canal Zone. The Panama Canal is of great importance for United States imperialism, while at the same time the Canal Zone is vital for Panama as a nation. These two interests are irreconcilable.

The canal presents a complicated problem, especially because of the geographic features of the canal. The size of

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the Republic of Panama aggravates the problem. The canal is of great importance for the trade of all of North America and the canal also has great importance internationally. The Peoples Party of Panama also must take into account the importance of the canal for the entire nation. That is why the Peoples Party of Panama has been seeking a way out that would suit both the United States and Panama. The objective fact is that the canal is important to the United States both industrially and to the economy generally.

Even were there to be a transformation of the United States from capitalism to socialism, the need for a solution to the problem of the canal could not be ruled out. When the Peoples Party of Panama places the problem of returning the canal to the Republic of Panama, the Party does not leave out of consideration the importance of the use of the canal to the American people. But first of all, there is a struggle against imperialism which oppresses the Panamanian people. Nevertheless, the Party does not put forward a chauvinistic demand.

The Canal Zone is a ten mile wide strip that cuts across Panama. In this zone one can see a typical colonial enclave where the monopolies profit and this monopolistic one sided profit makes this colony different than any other colony in the world. The one thing that is peculiarly characteristic of the Canal Zone is the fact that it has no production of raw material. It is devoted entirely to the service and supply of the United States fleet and the merchant fleet of the world.

Production in the Canal Zone is highly organized and mechanized. Many workers in this zone are chiefly North American rather than Panamanians. The living standards in the Canal Zone are higher than those of the workers outside of the Canal Zone. The work is more skilled also. Those workers who work in the Canal Zone are regularly employed at higher wages. That is why the workers in the Canal Zone, Panamanians and United States workers alike, want to save these conditions.

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PEOPLES PARTY OF PANAMA

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Another problem is that the canal and the territory of the Canal Zone occupied by the United States divide the nation of Panama. Therefore, the struggle for national independence has developed deep roots because of this problem of the canal. There are differences between the people of Panama and those Panamanians who work in the Canal Zone. These are only surface differences although United States imperialism and the reformist leaders use these contradictions. United States imperialism understands that if unity is established between the workers in the Canal Zone and the rest of Panama then the position of United States imperialism would be untenable.

There are three draft treaties under consideration to solve the problem of the Canal Zone. These three drafts all try to keep these contradictions. These drafts offer to set up a mixed administration of the canal. If these drafts are analyzed, it can be seen that they are very cleverly worked out. These drafts are based on continuance of the present situation. The problem is that the problem of the Canal Zone cannot be solved on the basis of the national bourgeoisie. Such a basis for the solution would not help the people of Panama in general but would only help the bourgeoisie. The working class of Panama is against such a solution which would be at the expense of the working class. In essence what the United States proposes is the creation of a "micro state" in the Canal Zone.

The program of the Peoples Party of Panama demands the return of the canal to Panama and the establishment of a special regime in the Canal Zone that would satisfy the interests of the Panamanian workers who work in the zone but would also safeguard the interests of the United States workers in the zone. This is for a future solution, that is a step forward as contrasted with the bourgeois solution. This solution would be in keeping with the interests of the worker.

At the present time in the Canal Zone the state-monopoly interests profit since all land belongs to the United

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PEOPLES PARTY OF PANAMA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

States. The proposition to transfer the state monopoly property to private capital is a step backward. When you say state monopoly property, this is a form of "capitalist socialism." Socialism is the only step forward for the canal.

It is clear that this problem cannot be solved so easily; it is a national problem. The vital question is the role of the working class in the solution of this problem. Why does not the working class take part in the solution of this problem? The answer is that United States imperialism has divided the workers. Furthermore, the United States and Panamanian trade union reformists have helped to continue this division.

An important factor toward the solution of this problem is increased cooperation between the Peoples Party of Panama and the CP, USA. Both Parties should quietly influence work for unity of the workers in the Canal Zone. This cooperation should be based on the mutual interests of the workers of both countries as a class. There is also a need for better work jointly against United States imperialism. More propaganda work should be done by the CP, USA regarding the draft treaties, etc. It would be important to the Peoples Party of Panama if it could inform the Panamanian people about such work by the CP, USA. Statements by the CP, USA would look good even in the bourgeois press of Panama. It would be of great importance if the CP, USA would support the solution advanced by the Peoples Party of Panama and also give its own attitude on the subject.

Another form of cooperation between these two Parties would be the establishment of regular contact between the Peoples Party of Panama and the CP, USA. The Peoples Party of Panama needs material support in the form of newspapers, literature, mimeograph machines and other material items. Since the Peoples Party of Panama is a small Party, exchanges of cooperation could not be on an equal level. The exchange of literature should not be merely on the subject of the canal but should also include literature on questions of politics, social questions, economy, etc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *myk* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

DATE: 12/27/67

On December 11 and 12, 1967, there were received in the Solo drop box in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, two communications, neither of which had a legible postmark nor return address. CG 5824-S* had previously furnished this address to representatives of the Brazilian CP for communications directed to the CP, USA.

Contained in the communications were copies of "Voz Operaria," Number XXXIII, November 1, 1967, and Number XXXIV, December 1, 1967, the monthly publication of the Brazilian CP.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two positive photostat copies each and for New York one positive photostat copy each of the above two publications.

These communications and their contents will be turned over to CG 5824-S* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE
(2)-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW *per C/A*
(4)

REC-23
SI-103

JAN 2 1968

6673
INT. SEC.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *June*

DATE: December 26, 1967 *W*

FROM : *S* F. Downing

SUBJECT: *7/5+* SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 12/26/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS: csp
(7)
W

REC 8

EX-113

100-428091-6672

DEC 29 1967

126
59 JAN 4 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *mo/rz* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

DATE: 12/27/67

ReBulet dated December 27, 1967, and CGairtel dated December 11, 1967, captioned as above enclosing LHM captioned "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled, 'Subversive Activities of the Chinese Leadership in the National Liberation Movement.'"

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for New York one copy each of amended pages 3 and 9.

CG 5824-S* was contacted on December 27, 1967, regarding the original information as set out in the LHM and advised that his interpretation of this information which should clarify the information on page 3, paragraph 1, and page 9, paragraph 1, second sentence, is set out in the amended pages.

New York should insert the amended pages in their copy of the LHM and make the following corrections noted by the Bureau in the LHM:

Hyphenate Latin-American, page 2, paragraph 1, lines 3 and 4; page 2, paragraph 4, line 7; page 5, paragraph 2, lines 14 and 15

Page 2, paragraph 1, line 3, peoples¹

Page 4, paragraph 1, line 3, trades

It is noted Chicago copy of LHM has been corrected.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
(4)



8 ENCLOSURES
JAN 2 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-428091-

RECORDED

JAN 2 1968

Handwritten initials and stamps

Handwritten notes

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

1/4/68

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. W. G. Shaw

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 12/8/67 (copy to Chicago) enclosing copies of a statement by CG 5824-S* entitled "Meeting with Representative of the Security Branch of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Relating to the Communication Apparatus Between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA."

It is noted in reairtel that the Soviet Security representative considers the transfer of funds from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party, USA, as the most risky phase of the Solo Operation and has insisted that the Communist Party, USA, set up a laundry or gift shop which could be used as a cover for this transfer of funds. It appears that unless some positive action is taken in this regard, the security of the entire Solo Operation will be jeopardized. Therefore, you should submit your observations and recommendations relative to the course of action to be taken in following the instructions of the Soviets to establish a cover business for the transfer of funds.

It is further noted in reairtel that the Soviet Security representative authorized NY 694-S* to expend up to \$13,000 in an effort to obtain the latest listening and anti-bugging devices used by police agencies. The Bureau also desires to have the observations and recommendations of your office as to how this matter should be resolved.

In the future when furnishing information of the type referred to above, it would be extremely helpful if you included your observations and recommendations as to the manner in which these matters should be handled.

1 - Chicago (134-46 sub B) REC-42

WGS:cst
(5)

6 JAN 4 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

MAILED 27
JAN 4 1968
COMM - FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

67 JAN 5 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, New York
RE: SOLO
100-428091

NOTE:

CG 5824-S*, while in the Soviet Union on a Solo Mission during 11/67, had the occasion to confer with Mikhail Polonik, the Soviet Security representative who has the responsibility for the Solo apparatus. Although Polonik indicated that he was completely satisfied with the Solo Operation, he indicated that he is constantly worried that some incident will occur which could compromise the operation. In this connection, he mentioned the funds transfer as being the most vulnerable and insisted that a business cover be established for this phase of the operation. He also indicated that the Soviets are extremely desirous of obtaining the latest type of listening and anti-bugging devices used by police agencies and authorized NY 694-S* to expend up to \$13,000 in an effort to obtain some of these devices. This along with the above-mentioned funds cover establishment are important problems which must be resolved in order to protect the Solo Operation.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

DATE: 12/21/67

On December 13, 1967, the Chicago Office received in a mail drop box maintained in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, for CG 5824-S* a communication from the Brazilian CP. The postmark and place from which it was sent are illegible. It bore no return address.

The contents of this communication were two similar bulletins entitled, "Bulletin D'Information Pour L'Exterieur," dated September, 1967, which appear to have been prepared by the Foreign Affairs Section of the Central Committee, Brazilian CP.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two Xerox copies and for New York one Xerox copy of the above-named publication. This communication and its contents will be furnished to CG 5824-S* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW
(4)

COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB.
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT



62 JAN 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

INFORMATION BULLETIN FOR
FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Brazilian Communist Party

This issue contains:

- A Note of the Executive Commission
of the Brazilian Communist Party
- Let Us Help the Arab People in Their
Struggle Against Imperialism
- Special Plenary Meeting of
the Central Committee
- Our Party and the Latin American
Conference for Solidarity (OLAS)
- Joint Declarations of the Communist
Parties of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay
and Brazil
- The Congress of the National Student
Union; New Violence of the Costa e
Silva Administration

Bulletin prepared by the Foreign Affairs Section of the
Brazilian Communist Party.

September, 1967

TRANSLATED BY:

January 18, 1968

cp14

b6
b7C

A NOTE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

I - Popular discontent is growing. Demonstrations to resist and oppose the dictatorship occur more and more frequently. The working class - despite enormous obstacles to the development of union activities and constant harassment by the police and the Ministry of Labor - voices its grievances, protests against the "Guarantee Funds" (a new attempt to curtail Social Security) and spoils for the struggle against the wage policies of the dictatorship. In the main industrial centers, the workers are joining forces to go into action. Farm laborers begin to reorganize their unions and try to combat the open defiance of the law by large-landed proprietors. Long-lived strikes have already occurred in the sugar refineries of the North-East of the country and there have been a number of outbreaks of struggle on the part of "posseiros" (peasants who claim a small tract of land left in abandonment). Civil servants are bracing for the struggle against shortages. The combativeness of students grows; they struggle against the agreement signed between the Ministry of Education and the USAID Agency. Despite the brutal repression of the police, the students stand their ground.

Patriotic demonstrations against the imperialist oppressor become more and more numerous each passing day and the hatred of our people against the assassins of the Vietnamese people grows, as witness the burnings of the American flag in several cities and the loud demonstration against the American Ambassador in Brasilia. Larger and larger population segments led by intellectuals, journalists and well-known personalities - including Catholic priests - state their opposition to the reactionary laws of the dictatorship, demand their repeal and complete amnesty, and an end to Military Police Inquests, as well as the release of all prisoners and persecuted persons.

II - With the inauguration of Costa e Silva as President of the Republic, the reactionary forces which usurp power (and consist of military traitors and other agents of imperialism) tried to broaden the social base of the dictatorship by announcing changes in the economic and financial policies of the country and stating a desire for the pacification of the country through the adoption of measures for its democratization.

In turn, Mr. Costa e Silva - whose candidacy was imposed by the most reactionary sectors of the Armed Forces - made certain commitments to several bourgeois circles. Thus, the political base of the government broadens with the inclusion in the administration of representatives of these sectors. . . . The principles of the foreign policy of the country have been modified. They rest on the doctrine of the unavoidability of a world war and on a shameful subordination to the dictates of the United States Government....

III - Yet, Mr. Costa e Silva continues to represent the same forces that staged the April "coup d'etat" and strives to consolidate a regime which has turned Brazil into the main support of the reactionary and aggressive policies of American imperialism in Latin America. His Administration, like the Castelo Branco Administration, is a reactionary and antinational military dictatorship which strives to lead our economic development in a direction favorable to the interests of American monopolies, large-landed proprietors and big capitalists for a greater and greater exploitation of our workers and the pillage of our riches.... Concerning our foreign policies, there is a growing submission of Brazil - as far as international problems are concerned - to the orientation dictated by the Department of State in Washington. This became apparent at the United Nations quite recently in connection with the debate on the Middle East conflict at the Special Assembly of that body. This is also apparent at the Organization of American States where Brazil supports the plans submitted by Venezuela which are nothing else but more and bigger provocations against Cuba. Since it was not possible to come up with the establishment of an Inter-American Force of repression at the Organization of American States, thanks to a refusal of the wholesome forces of the continent, the Brazilian dictatorship strives for an understanding with the "gorillas" (military dictators) of Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru, in order to make it possible for the Armed Forces of these various countries to act jointly and collectively and intervene in any Latin American countries in keeping with the principles of the "Johnson Doctrine" to conduct military and punitive actions "in order to safeguard order" and, of course, the stability of reactionary and pro-imperialist governments.

IV - Despite his demagogic language and his "Our Objective is Man" slogan - which should mean an improvement of the standard of living of the workers and a promise of well-being

✓
✓
for all the people - Mr. Costa e Silva pursues a policy whose only goal is to benefit the large-landed proprietors, the big capitalists and American monopolies to the detriment of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. The living conditions of the working masses have grown considerably worse. Between 1965 and 1967, the real purchasing power of wages and salaries has dropped more than 40%.... Laws have been passed which are veritable instruments of coercion and which enable the dictatorship to place itself above the "Justice Rule of Work," to reduce salary improvements and to eliminate altogether the possibility of concluding collective bargaining agreements between employers and workers. The living standard of the people has been lowered as a result of a general tax increase and a rise in the cost of the products and services needed by the people, including transportation, rents, etc. In the provinces, the situation is even more serious.... The Armed Forces openly and blatantly intervene into every aspect of the political life of the country. They strive to continue their political tutelage of the nation. Contradictions grow, even within the Administration itself, and instability spreads.

✓
V - Under the circumstances, the people cannot have any illusions about the present government or about possible changes in favor of democracy and the interests of the workers, despite the replacement of a few people in the power seat. The workers can no longer have any illusions about the promises of the Administration and of management. The only way for them to obtain a larger share of the national income is to fight for it. They cannot hope to improve their lot with the scanty and meager alms that their exploiters or certain programs and laws of the dictatorship may cast them.... This struggle must begin with the struggle for democratic freedoms. In the first place, the masses must demand a repeal of all reactionary statutes, beginning with the fascist-inspired Constitution of the country. They must demand general amnesty and the release of all political prisoners. The struggles of the workers in the cities and in the provinces for their economic grievances for wage improvements and against the cost of living presents, in effect, a political aspect. However, if they are to make a real contribution to the defeat of dictatorship, it is indispensable for the organizations of the workers to be led and organized in the best possible way and it rests with the communists to organize the workers on their places of work and to spark their struggles for immediate grievances - including the most elementary ones - if a victory over the dictatorship is to be

won. At the same time, it is essential for the communists to participate actively in the labor union life of the country in order to lead the struggle for the freedom and autonomy of the unions, against the imposition of taxation on labor unions, against the so-called "ideological certificates" (proof of non-membership in the Communist Party) and for liberty in the election of labor union officials.... Peasants and, above all, farm laborers, can make a substantial contribution in the struggle against exploitation by joining forces and by resuming their unions which were closed down by the reaction in an effort to "liquidate" them forever.... In the struggle against the present regime, the sectors of the middle bourgeoisie play an important role. This is particularly true of those intellectuals who want the cultural progress of the country and of the university students who have already proven their combativeness in the struggle against American imperialism and the dictatorship....

✓ VI - The reactionary minority holds on to power because the forces of the workers, of the people and of democracy are disorganized and disunited. Once they become organized and united, the working masses can claim and win by their actions their right to legal activities, imposing a retreat on the reactionary minority and putting an end to the violence of the dictatorship. This means that the popular forces - while pursuing every possible legal form of struggle - must not confine themselves within the limits imposed by the legislation enacted by the present regime. As long as they respond to actual and concrete situations and to the level of awareness of the masses, the struggles against the dictatorship are always just, regardless of the form in which they manifest themselves. The unity of the political forces and of the democratic and progressive movements depends on the organization of the masses. The communists make a special appeal to the forces of the left which understand the need for transformations and struggle for their attainment. The communists call for unity of action in defending the rights of the workers and of the people against the dictatorship in order to form, together with the communist party, a core that is the indispensable premise for the establishment of a large front uniting all forces culturally opposed to the dictatorship....

VII - The struggle against the present regime is inseparable from the struggle against the foreign oppressor, namely, American imperialism which is the number one enemy of our people. It is indispensable at this time to intensify our

struggle against the criminal war in Vietnam by demanding an immediate end to the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an immediate withdrawal of the troops of imperialism and its lackeys from the territory of South Vietnam and solidarity throughout the world - but especially in our country - with the heroic people of Vietnam. At the same time, it is necessary to step up our struggle for the defense of world peace and to support the policies of peace and peaceful co-existence of the Soviet Union, especially its steadfast position side by side with the Arab peoples against the aggression of imperialism and its agents in Israel. We salute the vigorous antiwar movement which is gathering momentum in large democratic and progressive sectors within the United States and we give full and unconditional support to the Negro people of the United States in the struggle against poverty and racial discrimination. It is also necessary to intensify our solidarity with the Cuban people and all the patriots who, in several countries of the continent, struggle in the most diversified aspects, and especially with arms in their hands, against American imperialism for national liberation and social progress. We owe the Bolivian people a very special support in view of the military aggression the United States is waging against them, and we must oppose in a very special fashion any participation of the Brazilian Government in this aggression. We must denounce the various forms of imperialist domination in our country. We must intensify our struggle against the Organization of American States and against any participation of Brazil in an Inter-American Peace Force. We must strip the mask off the so-called American aid by denouncing the reactionary contents of the Alliance for Progress and the so-called Latin American Common Market. Above all, we must demand for the countless spies and agents of the Americans to get out of our country, including their front organizations nicknamed Peace Corps and the like. The struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle against its agents and internal supporters, particularly the large-landed proprietor and all those who oppose a land reform. In their struggle against the dictatorship, the communists strive to win the masses at large over to the struggle for the victory of national and democratic revolution and for the triumph of socialism in our country.

August, 1967

The Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party.

LET US HELP THE ARAB PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The last two issues of "Voz Operaria," organ of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, contain a number of important articles about the war in the Middle East. Israel's aggression against the Arab people is denounced as a monstrous maneuver of American, English, West German and Zionist imperialism. It was their purpose to overthrow the progressive governments of Syria and the United Arab Republic in order to safeguard their interests and exploitation of the oil riches of the Middle East and sever the bonds of friendship which unite the Arab people with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In denouncing this unprecedented aggression, the Brazilian communists call on public opinion to give full proof and demonstration of their solidarity and support for the Arab people against imperialism.

✓ ✓ Despite a vicious press campaign designed to confuse public opinion, "Voz Operaria" points out the role of the Soviet Union which, by giving its moral, political and material support to the Arab countries, victimized by an ignominious aggression, stood up for the true interests of world peace.

SPECIAL PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

✓ The Executive Commission of the Central Committee, after making the decision of relieving comrade Menezes, Central Committee member, of the posts he held on charges of lack of discipline and working against the unity of the Party, called a Special Plenary Meeting to discuss a number of serious problems which arose as a result of an internal struggle during and after the preparatory debates. During this Meeting, the Central Committee adopted, by an overwhelming majority vote, a resolution designed to defend the unity, Leninist organizational principles, discipline and By-Laws of the Party.

After taking cognizance of and discussing the secessionist activities of certain leaders of the Party, the Central Committee passed the following resolutions:

- I) Approve the measures taken by the Central Committee on the subject of the Organization for Latin American Solidarity.
- II) Characterize the conduct of comrade Menezes, Central Committee member, as incompatible with his condition as a member of the Party and expel him.

- III) Expel from the Party comrade Paul, Central Committee member.
- IV) Relieve comrade Silvera, Central Committee member, of his post because of secessionist activities.
- V) Publicly censure comrades Toledo, Lima and Rodrigo for failing in their duties as Central Committee members and for spreading a personal orientation contrary to the resolutions of the leadership of the Party.

The meeting was a vigorous manifestation of the spirit of unity of the Central Committee and of its steadfast determination to safeguard the Party as a revolutionary organization contrary to anarchy and personalism. It ended with a vibrant appeal to all militants.

OUR PARTY AND THE LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR SOLIDARITY (OLAS)

✓ Our Party did not send a representation to the Conference of the Latin American for Solidarity, which took place in Havana last July. After the invitation to this meeting, we received information from a Brother Party to the effect that a decision had been made at the 8th meeting of the Organizing Committee, held August 31, 1966, that a national committee of OLAS should be established in Brazil and that, on this national committee, besides our Party, there should sit on an equal footing a number of well-known secessionists and renegades. We believe that OLAS can make a considerable contribution to the solidarity of the democratic and revolutionary movements of Latin America. However, we are opposed to OLAS claiming for itself the position of political orientation center of the revolutionary movement of our country. Furthermore, we cannot approve of the attacks made by the OLAS Organizing Committee against our Brother Party in Venezuela. Unity in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle in Latin America can only be victorious if it rests on the unity of the Latin American communist movement. Thus, all aspects of "liquidationism" and "fractionalism" are to be condemned. The Cuban Revolution is, in Latin America, the greatest conquest of the communists and the Latin American people. By defending it, they defend their own interests and their future. The common struggle of the communists, of the revolutionary and of those who are democratically minded, must be oriented against imperialism, for national independence, for the liberty of every nation, for the destruction of the aggressive plans of

American imperialism and its accomplices, and for solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and the Cuban Government. It is in this direction that we will intensify the activities of our Party.

The Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party.

August 15, 1967

JOINT DECLARATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILE, ARGENTINA, URUGUAY AND BRAZIL

In June, 1967, a delegation of the Central Committee of our Party met with similar delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. At the end of the meeting, a number of joint declarations were made public. The exchange of viewpoints took place in an atmosphere of profound friendship and understanding and underscored our identity of opinions insofar as the major international problems which affect Latin America are concerned, particularly in regard to the work for unity in our respective countries and the need for better liaison in order to develop the struggle for liberty, national independence and peace. In short, the following are the essential points of the three statements:

- Defense of the Cuban Revolution
- Defense of the unity of the Communist Parties based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism
- Condemnation of all interference in the domestic problems of each Party and relentless struggle against all divisive activities regardless of nature and origin
- Need for the establishment of a closer liaison between the revolutionary forces of the four countries in the face of growing and more desperate actions by the common enemy, American imperialism
- Remain on guard and ready for action in the face of the bellicose preparations of imperialism, particularly those which are carried on under the auspices of the Organization of American States (such as the Inter-American Peace Force, which is actually a military organization designed to combat and crush the patriotic struggles of the people of Latin America)

- Remain faithful to the resolutions and spirit of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, and continue the efforts to restore harmony and unity to the international communist movement, condemning the divisive attitudes of the Chinese leader.
- world
- Need for calling a conference of Communist and Workers' Parties
- Salute the Great Socialist October Revolution and join in the commemoration.

THE CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT UNION; NEW VIOLENCE OF THE COSTA E SILVA ADMINISTRATION

The 29th National Congress of Students sponsored by the National Student Union was held in Sao Paulo from July 26 to July 28 with delegates from 19 States. Communist students attended the Congress side by side with other political forces. From the very first preparations until the end of the Congress, the action of the police and of the local army made itself felt in the most brutal fashion. Despite the massive repressive apparatus deployed by the dictatorship, the first few sessions were held in a Dominican monastery. In retaliation, hundreds of arrests were made, including a dozen priests and, even, the Dominican Superior, Frei Chico. Many monasteries and residences were searched for "subversives." The whole town was transformed into an armed camp. These arrests caused indignation and many priests and monks ran the streets and took up positions in front of the jails to demand the release of their brothers. The Archbishops of Sao Paulo and Santo Andre lodged protests against the violence and the invasions of the monasteries. The Archbishop of Santo Andre, who publicly gave support to the Congress, was repeatedly interrogated by the Federal Police. Despite the high-handed methods, the closing session of the Congress was held in the street with a public reading of the resolutions adopted by the Congress.

The holding of the Congress had enormous political repercussions and went down in history as a major defeat of the dictatorship. Needless to say, it was a clear-cut demonstration of anti-imperialism and solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

✓ Nevertheless, we must deplore certain negative aspects, such as the unfair criticism of UIE (sic - possibly International Student Union), a number of discriminations, a lack of unity and certain radical positions. Even so, the 29th Congress of the Student National Union paves the way for more victories of the students over the dictatorship and imperialism.

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION POUR L'EXTERIEUR

PARTI COMMUNISTE BRÉSILIEN

DANS CE NUMÉRO:

- NOTE DE LA COMMISSION EXÉCUTIVE DU PARTI COMMUNISTE BRÉSILIEN
- RÉUNION PLÉNIÈRE EXTRAORDINAIRE DU COMITÉ CENTRAL
- NOTRE PARTI ET LA CONFÉRENCE LATINO-AMÉRICAINE DE SOLIDARITÉ (OLAS)
- DÉCLARATIONS CONJOINTES DES PARTIS COMMUNISTES DU CHILI, D'ARGENTINE, DE L'URUGUAY ET AU BRÉSIL
- CONGRÈS DE L'UNION NATIONALE DES ÉTUDIANTS: NOUVELLES VIOLENCES DU GOUVERNEMENT COSTA E SILVA
- AIDER LE PEUPLE ARABE DANS SA LUTTE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

Bulletin élaboré par la Section de Relations Extérieures du P.C.B.

Septembre, 1967

NOTE DE LA COMMISSION EXÉCUTIVE DU COMITÉ CENTRAL

I — Le mécontentement populaire s'accroît, et des manifestations de résistance et d'opposition à la dictature ont lieu, avec plus de fréquence. La classe ouvrière, malgré les obstacles énormes dus au développement de l'activité syndicale, la constante intervention de la police et du Ministère du Travail, expose ses revendications, proteste contre les "Fonds de garanties" (nouvelle atteinte à l'assurance sociale), se dispose à lutter contre la politique de salaires de la dictature et commence, dans les principaux centres industriels, à unir ses forces pour passer à l'action. Les travailleurs agricoles commencent à réorganiser leurs syndicats et cherchent à s'opposer au mépris que les gros propriétaires opposent au respect de la loi. Des grèves de longue durée ont eu lieu dans les sucreries du Nord-Est du pays, et quelques luttes de "posseiros" (paysans qui s'approprient d'un lapin de terre abandonnée, — fait consacré par la tradition) commencent à surgir. Les fonctionnaires refont leurs forces, disposés à lutter contre la pénurie. La combativité des étudiants grandit, ils luttent contre l'accord signé par le Ministère de l'Éducation (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique) avec l'Agence Américaine d'Aide (USAID) et font face, avec fermeté, à la brutale répression de la police.

Les manifestations patriotiques contre l'opresseur impérialiste sont chaque jour plus nombreuses et la haine populaire contre les assassins du peuple Vietnamien s'accroît, comme le témoigne le fait que le drapeau américain a été brûlé publiquement dans plusieurs villes et l'Ambassadeur des États Unis hué à Brasília. De larges couches de la population, à leur tête des intellectuels, des journalistes, des personnalités très connues, y compris des sacerdotes catholiques, prennent position contre les lois réactionnaires de la dictature, réclament leur révocation, ainsi que l'amnistie complète, la fin des IPM (Commissions d'enquêtes menées par la police et l'Armée) et la liberté des détenus et des persécutés.

II — Avec l'installation de Costa e Silva à la Présidence de la République, les forces réactionnaires, qui usurpent le pouvoir, constituées de militaires traitres et d'autres agents de l'impérialisme, essayèrent d'am-

plifier la base sociale de la dictature, en annonçant des changements dans la politique économique et financière, de désir de pacification du pays et l'adoption de mesures pour la démocratisation du régime. À son tour, Mr. Costa e Silva, dont la candidature fut imposée par les secteurs les plus réactionnaires des Forces Armées, prit des engagements vis à vis de divers milieux de la bourgeoisie. Ainsi, la base politique du gouvernement s'élargit, avec l'inclusion dans son sein de représentants de ces milieux, tel que Mr. Magalhães Pinto et d'autres, qui s'étaient écartés du gouvernement Castelo Branco, bien qu'ayant participé activement du coup d'état de 1964, et bien qu'ils défendent l'actuel régime qui leur permet de mieux exploiter les travailleurs. Dans le but de favoriser les mêmes secteurs de la classe dominante, certains changements furent effectués dans la politique économique et financière de Mr. Roberto Campos (Ministre de la Planification de Castelo Branco) fut soumise à la critique, parce que, comme on le dit dans le "Programme d'orientation de base" du gouvernement actuel, "elle n'a pu atteindre les objectifs voulus, soit en ce qui concerne la reprise du développement, soit en ce qui se rapporte à l'objectif de contenir l'inflation". Les principes de la politique extérieure ont été modifiés; ils s'appuyaient sur la doctrine de l'inévitabilité de la guerre mondiale et sur une honteuse subordination au gouvernement des États-Unis; ceci dans le but de camoufler la soumission du Brésil à l'opresseur américain. Tout cela contribua à créer une atmosphère d'espoir ayant en vue la possibilité de changements favorables au peuple, fait qui influença des secteurs des couches moyennes, de la classe ouvrière elle-même et pratiquement mena à paralyser l'action de l'opposition.

III — Mr. Costa e Silva représente pourtant les mêmes forces liées au coup d'état d'avril et a pour tâche à la Présidence de la République de consolider le régime imposé à la nation et qui fit du Brésil le principal point d'appui de la politique réactionnaire et agressive des impérialistes américains en Amérique Latine. Son gouvernement, aussi bien que celui de son prédécesseur, est une dictature militaire réac-

tionnaire et anti-nationale qui conduit notre développement économique dans un sens favorable aux intérêts des monopoles américains, des gros propriétaires fonciers et des gros capitalistes, au détriment de l'exploitation croissante des travailleurs et de la spoliation de nos richesses.

C'est bien là en effet l'orientation de son gouvernement sous tous les aspects. Il est le défenseur intransigeant de la nouvelle Constitution *fascistoïde* qui écarte le peuple de l'activité politique, liquide en fait les garanties individuelles, annule les conquêtes sociales des travailleurs, met fin à l'autonomie de l'État et de la commune, concède des pouvoirs absolus au Président de la République et réduit le Législatif au rôle subalterne de simple enregistreur des décisions de l'Exécutif.

En même temps il s'utilise des lois réactionnaires pour justifier les violences de la police et l'arbitre des responsables des IPM qui arrêtent des travailleurs, des étudiants, des intellectuels et des sacerdotes. Il mobilise des milliers de policiers contre un Congrès d'étudiants. Cela, sans compter la Loi de Sécurité et le fait qu'il s'appuie sur les "Actes Institutionnels" de la dictature, afin de poursuivre des journalistes et des démocrates. Il arrête des dirigeants syndicaux qui exposent les revendications des travailleurs, ceci malgré les promesses démagogiques du Ministre du Travail, et intervient dans le mouvement syndical cherchant à l'assujettir aux intérêts de la dictature et des patrons.

Dans le domaine de la politique économique et financière, il continue à appliquer l'orientation dictée par le Fond Monétaire International (FMI). Basé sur le soi-disant "Programme d'Orientation de Base", il cherche en réalité à favoriser certains secteurs des classes dominantes. Affirmant que l'inflation est actuellement une "inflation de prix de revient", il applique une série de mesures qui permettent de plus grands bénéfices aux gros industriels et aux monopoles impérialistes. Par ailleurs, il maintient la politique des salaires, qui représente une sérieuse réduction du salaire réel, politique instituée par Mr. Roberto Campos, qui s'avère anti-sociale et économiquement nocive au développement du pays. Alors qu'il annonce des mesures ayant pour but de réduire la "tendance à la statisation", ce qui constitue une menace aux entreprises de l'État, telles que la Petrobras, le gouvernement intensifie le contrôle sur l'économie du pays, afin de bénéficier les

patrons au détriment de la classe ouvrière, en baissant ses salaires, en gênant son organisation, cherchant enfin d'empêcher qu'elle puisse lutter en défense de ses intérêts.

En ce qui concerne la politique extérieure, se poursuit, dans l'essentiel, la soumission croissante du Brésil, par rapport aux problèmes internationaux, à l'orientation dictée par le Département d'État du gouvernement de Washington. C'est ce qui a eu lieu à l'ONU, comme on l'a vérifié récemment, lorsqu'on débattit à l'Assemblée Extraordinaire le conflit du Moyen Orient. C'est aussi ce qui se passe à l'OEA, où le gouvernement appui les propositions du Venezuela, que ne sont autres que des nouvelles et plus grandes provocations contre Cuba. Comme il ne fut pas possible d'obtenir au sein de l'OEA, face au refus du continent, des votes nécessaires à la constitution de la Force Inter-américaine de répression au mouvement démocratique et de libération nationale des peuples latino-américains, la dictature brésilienne tâche de s'entendre avec les "gorilles" d'Argentine, du Paraguay, de la Bolivie et du Pérou, afin de placer leurs Forces Armées en état d'agir collectivement et d'intervenir dans n'importe quel pays d'Amérique Latine, d'accord avec les principes de la "doctrine Johnson" et de mener des actions militaires et punitives, pour sauvegarder "l'ordre" et la stabilité de gouvernements réactionnaires et pré-impérialistes.

IV — En offrant un profond contraste avec le langage démagogique de Mr. Costa e Silva, qui lance comme mot d'ordre de son gouvernement "l'objectif homme", ce que veut dire promesse de bien être pour le peuple et élévation du niveau de vie des travailleurs, la politique de la dictature orientée, en réalité, la politique en vue de bénéficier quelques gros propriétaires fonciers et des gros capitalistes, les monopoles américains, au détriment des intérêts de l'immense majorité de la population. Les conditions de vie des masses travailleuses s'aggravent sérieusement. Entre 1965 et 1967, les salaires réels ont été abaissés de plus de 40%, puisque leur augmentation a été calculée en prenant comme base un "résidu inflationnaire" constamment inférieur à la véritable augmentation du coût de vie. Le salaire minimum garanti a été, à partir de 1964, jusqu'à présent, augmenté d'environ 150%, alors que les prix d'articles

les plus nécessaires ont eu une hausse de 250%. Certaines lois, vrais instruments coercitifs, ainsi que certains décrets-lois, permettent à la dictature de se placer au dessus de la Justice du Travail, de réduire les augmentations des salaires et d'annuler complètement la possibilité de conclure des contrats collectifs de travail entre patrons et ouvriers. Le niveau de vie du peuple, a été de plus aggravé par l'augmentation générale des impôts et des taxes, des prix des services, des prix de transports, ainsi que par les modifications apportées à la loi des locations, qui contribueront à empirer les conditions de logement des grandes masses.

En province, la situation est encore plus grave. Sans compter le chômage et les persécutions, les fermiers violent systématiquement les lois et les principes des Statuts du Travailleur Rural, en ce qui concerne le salaire minimum garanti, le repos hebdomadaire dû, les vacances, l'avis préalable, l'indemnisation, etc. Si à S. Paulo, ce que l'on voit c'est le travailleur en haillons, comme le reconnaît un ex-président de la réactionnaire Association Rurale Brésilienne, en déclaration faite au journal "Correio da Manhã" (du 31/6/67), dans la région du Nord-Est c'est le spectacle d'une foule de paysans affamés qui envahissent villes et villages en quête d'aliments. C'est, comme on le dit dans le mémorial de la Fédération des Travailleurs Agricoles de Pernambuco, "Avec la révolution (c'est à dire le coup d'état de 1964), les travailleurs perdirent, en fait, le salaire et la terre".

Le processus de paupérisation des couches moyennes des villes s'accroît, les difficultés auxquelles les étudiants ont à faire face sont chaque jour plus grandes, et les privations des fonctionnaires et de larges secteurs des professions libérales s'intensifient. Les instituteurs, par exemple, sont obligés de déclencher des grèves et de protester en public à Minas Gerais, au Ceará et dans d'autres Etats, afin de recevoir leur paiement, en retard de plusieurs mois.

Des larges secteurs de la petite et moyenne bourgeoisie industrielle et commerciale sont totalement écrasés économiquement par la concentration du capital et de la rente, conséquence de la domination impérialiste, fait accéléré par la politique économique et financière du gouvernement. La dictature lèse ainsi les intérêts de l'immense majorité de la nation. Malgré la législation réactionnaire mise en vigueur et tous les efforts démagogiques qui se sui-

viennent lors du changement des maréchaux à la Présidence de la République, les généraux putschistes et autres agents de l'impérialisme n'ont pu atteindre la tranquillité politique tant désirée et tant prônée. L'intromission directe des secteurs les plus réactionnaires des Forces Armées dans la vie politique devient évidente; ils veulent continuer à exercer la tutelle sur la nation. Les contradictions au sein même du gouvernement augmentent et son instabilité s'accroît.

V — Le peuple, ne peut, ainsi, se faire des illusions sur l'actuel gouvernement ou sur des possibles changements en faveur de la démocratie et des intérêts des travailleurs, du simple fait de la substitution des personnes au pouvoir. Les travailleurs ne peuvent non plus se faire d'illusions sur les promesses du gouvernement et des patrons. C'est seulement par la lutte qu'ils pourront obtenir une plus grande part de la rente nationale, car ce ne seront pas les aumônes des exploitateurs ou des programmes et les lois de la dictature qui élèveront les salaires et les appointements, ni le niveau de vie des masses exploitées. Les intérêts de la nation exigent la victoire sur la dictature et la substitution de l'actuel régime par un autre réellement démocratique, qui permette aux forces progressistes d'imposer leur volonté à la minorité réactionnaire et anti-nationale, ouvrant ainsi la voie à la solution révolutionnaire des problèmes brésiliens.

Le succès de la lutte contre la dictature dépendra surtout de l'unité d'action des forces auxquelles elle porte atteinte et qui, comme nous l'avons dit, englobe les ouvriers, les paysans, les employés, les instituteurs, ceux des professions libérales, les petits et moyens industriels et commerçants, ainsi que les autres couches de la bourgeoisie nationale et les autres secteurs des classes dominantes lésées par la domination impérialiste et par la politique de la dictature. Le mouvement de résistance, d'opposition et de lutte contre le régime fascistoïde, peut ainsi atteindre une énorme amplitude.

Le front unique des forces antidictatoriales se formera au cours d'actions concrètes, en vue des libertés démocratiques, des intérêts immédiats des travailleurs et du peuple, en défense de la souveraineté nationale et du développement économique indépendant du pays. Ayant comme centre la lutte pour

les libertés démocratiques, les actions de masses doivent aussi s'orienter afin d'exiger la révocation de la législation réactionnaire et de la Constitution *fascistoïde*, la concession de l'amnistie générale et la liberté de tous les détenus et des persécutés politiques. Les luttes des travailleurs des villes et des provinces, pour leurs revendications économiques, pour l'élévation des salaires, contre la vie chère et la politique des salaires de la dictature, présente en fait, actuellement, un caractère politique. Mais pour qu'elles puissent réellement contribuer à la défaite de la dictature, il est indispensable qu'elles soient organisées et dirigées consciemment. Il incombe aux communistes la tâche décisive d'organiser les travailleurs dans leurs locaux de travail, d'impulser leurs luttes conscientes et les revendications immédiates, même les plus élémentaires, pour vaincre la dictature.

En même temps, il est indispensable de participer activement de la vie syndicale, en se battant pour la liberté et l'autonomie des syndicats, contre le paiement de l'impôt syndical, contre le certificat idéologique (preuve de non appartenance au Parti communiste) et pour la liberté des élections syndicales. Même lorsque la situation régnante aux syndicats est des plus mauvaises, c'est à travers eux qu'il sera possible de développer et de consolider l'unité d'action de la classe ouvrière. L'organisation des travailleurs dans les entreprises facilitera leur mobilisation vers les syndicats, créant ainsi les conditions pour vaincre les policiers et les agents provocateurs infiltrés dans le mouvement syndical, et pour transformer celui-ci en instrument de lutte en défense des intérêts des travailleurs.

Les paysans, et surtout les salariés agricoles ainsi que les paysans pauvres, dans la mesure où ils s'unissent et luttent contre l'exploitation croissante, peuvent reprendre l'organisation de leurs syndicats, fermés par la réaction qui prétendit leur liquidation définitive. Il est indispensable de stimuler une telle activité, incombant par ailleurs aux ouvriers des villes de donner la plus grande aide et assistance à leurs frères de la province, aussi bien en ce qui concerne l'organisation syndicale que la solidarité à leurs luttes.

Dans la lutte contre l'actuel régime, les couches moyennes jouent un rôle important, en particulier les intellectuels, qui s'intéressent au progrès culturel du pays, ainsi que la jeunesse universitaire, qui a déjà conquis par sa combativité une posi-

tion de premier plan dans la lutte contre l'impérialisme américain et la dictature. En même temps qu'ils défendent l'UNE et les autres organisations visées par la réaction, les étudiants doivent chercher d'autres formes d'organisation qui leur permettent une plus grande participation aux luttes pour leurs intérêts spécifiques, les libertés démocratiques, ainsi que recourir à des formes de lutte capables de faciliter l'unité d'action avec la classe ouvrière, les paysans et les autres forces démocratiques et populaires.

VI — La minorité réactionnaire arrive encore à maintenir la dictature parce que les forces ouvrières, populaires et démocratiques se trouvent désorganisées et démunies. Une fois organisées et unies, les masses travailleuses pourront, par leurs actions, faire valoir, en fait, leur droit à l'activité légale, pourront imposer un recul à la minorité réactionnaire, auront des conditions de faire face, avec succès, à la violence de la dictature, et finiront par la vaincre. Cela exige que, sans abandonner toutes les formes légales de lutte, les forces populaires ne restreignent pas les actions de masses dans les limites imposées par la loi de l'actuel régime. À condition qu'elles correspondent à des situations concrètes et au niveau de conscience des masses, les luttes contre la dictature sont toujours justes, qu'elles que soient les formes qu'elles prennent.

Ce sera l'organisation des masses qui impulsera l'unité des forces politiques et des mouvements démocratiques et progressistes. Les communistes se dirigent particulièrement aux forces de gauche, qui comprennent la nécessité des transformations et luttent pour les atteindre, et les conclament à l'unité d'action en défense des revendications et des droits des travailleurs et du peuple, contre la dictature, afin de former avec le Parti Communiste le noyau ferme et conséquent d'un large front des forces contraires à la dictature.

En faisant appel à l'unité de tous les patriotes et démocrates autour d'un programme commun centré sur des intérêts communs, fruit d'un travail unitaire, les communistes combattent en même temps la tendance à la passivité, à demeurer les bras croisés, dans l'attente d'actions spontanées, de même qu'ils s'opposent aux actions aventurées qui ne font pas cas des situations concrètes et du niveau de conscience des masses ce qui les mèneront à s'isoler, le tout

fournissant des arguments favorables à la réaction. L'unité des forces politiques contraires à la dictature et à l'actuel régime est possible, mais non pas comme résultat d'une entente au sommet. Elle doit être conquise par l'activité populaire.

VII — La lutte contre l'actuel régime est inséparable de la lutte contre l'oppressur étranger, l'impérialisme américain, principal ennemi de notre peuple. Il est indispensable, en ce moment, d'intensifier la lutte contre la criminelle guerre du Vietnam, en exigeant que cesse le bombardement de la République Démocratique du Vietnam, que les troupes de l'impérialisme et ses comparses se retirent du territoire du Vietnam du Sud, et que se développe dans notre pays un large mouvement de solidarité envers l'héroïque peuple vietnamien. Parallèlement, il est nécessaire d'intensifier la lutte en défense de la paix mondiale, d'appuyer la politique de paix et de coexistence pacifique de l'Union Soviétique, spécialement sa ferme position aux côtés des peuples arabes, contre l'agression des impérialistes et de ses agents de l'État d'Israël, et pour la complète élimination des conséquences de l'agression. Nous devons saluer le vigoureux mouvement contraire à la guerre, de larges secteurs démocratiques et progressistes des États-Unis, ainsi que donner tout notre appui à l'héroïque mouvement des populations nègres de ce pays, en lutte contre la misère et les discriminations raciales dont elles sont victimes.

Il est aussi nécessaire d'intensifier la so-

lidarité au peuple cubain et à tous les patriotes qui, dans plusieurs pays du Continent, luttent sous les formes les plus diverses, y inclus les armes à la main, contre l'impérialisme américain, pour la libération nationale et le progrès social. L'appui que nous devons au peuple bolivien exige, en ce moment, la lutte contre l'agression militaire des États Unis et, d'une façon toute particulière, contre la participation du gouvernement brésilien à cette agression.

Nous devons dénoncer les diverses formes de la domination impérialiste dans notre pays, intensifier la lutte contre l'OEI et contre notre participation à la FIP, démasquer le contenu réactionnaire de "l'aide" américaine, sous le nom "d'Alliance pour le Progrès" et du soi-disant marché commun latino-américain, et exiger que les innombrables espions et agents américains quittent notre pays, ainsi que leurs diverses organisations, comme les surnommés corps

de paix, etc.

La lutte contre l'impérialisme est inséparable de la lutte contre ses agents et ses soutiens internes, en particulier les gros propriétaires fonciers, sans oublier à ce propos la réforme agraire radicale. En luttant contre la dictature, les communistes s'efforcent de gagner les grandes masses à la lutte pour la victoire de la révolution nationale et démocratique et pour le triomphe du socialisme dans notre pays

Août 1967.

La Commission Exécutive du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien.

AIDER LE PEUPLE ARABE DANS SA LUTTE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

"VOZ OPERARIA", organe du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien, consacre dans ses deux derniers numéros une importante matière à la guerre du Moyen-Orient. L'agression d'Israël contre les peuples arabes y est dénoncée comme une monstrueuse manoeuvre de l'impérialisme américain, anglais, germano-occidental et du sionisme. Leur but était de renverser les gouvernements progressistes de Syrie et de la RAU, de garantir et d'accroître la main mise sur les richesses pétrolières du Moyen-Orient et d'interrompre les liens d'amitié qui unissent chaque jour davantage le peuple arabe à l'URSS et aux autres pays socialistes.

Tout en dénonçant l'insolite agression, les communistes brésiliens font un appel à l'opinion publique, afin que les meilleures preuves de solidarité se manifestent en appui à la lutte du peuple arabe contre l'impérialisme.

Malgré une campagne de presse malicieuse, destinée à confondre l'opinion publique, "VOZ OPERARIA" met en évidence le rôle de l'Union Soviétique qui, tout en donnant son appui moral, politique et matériel aux pays arabes, victimes d'une ignoble agression, suit défendre les vrais intérêts de la paix mondiale.

RÉUNION PLENIÈRE EXTRAORDINAIRE DU COMITÉ CENTRAL

La Commission Exécutive du Comité Central, après avoir pris la décision de relever le camarade Menezes, membre du Comité Central, des postes qu'il occupait, pour indiscipline et attentat à l'unité du Parti, convoca une Réunion Plénière Extraordinaire du Comité Central, afin de discuter les graves problèmes posés au cours de la salutaire lutte interne, qui s'ensuivit aux débats préparatoires. À l'issue de la réunion, le Comité Central adopta, à l'immense majorité, une résolution destinée à la défense de l'unité, des principes léninistes d'organisation, de la discipline et des statuts du Parti.

Après avoir pris connaissance et discuté les activités scissionnistes de quelques dirigeants du Parti, le Comité Central prit les décisions suivantes:

- I) Approuver les mesures prises par le Comité Central au sujet de la OLAS.
- II) Considérer la conduite du camarade

Menezes, membre du Comité Central comme incompatible avec la condition de membre du Parti, et décider son expulsion.

III) Expulser du Parti le camarade Paul, membre du Comité Central.

IV) Relever le camarade Silveira, membre du Comité Central, de son poste, pour activité scissionniste.

V) Censurer publiquement les camarades Toledo, Lima, Rodrigo, pour manquer à leur devoir de membres du Comité Central et pour avoir transmis une orientation personnelle contraire aux résolutions de la direction du Parti.

La réunion fut une manifestation vigoureuse de l'esprit unitaire du Comité Central et de sa ferme décision de sauvegarder le Parti comme organisation révolutionnaire, contraire à l'anarchie et le personnalisme, et termina par un vibrant appel à tous les militants,

NOTRE PARTI ET LA CONFÉRENCE DE L'ORGANISATION LATINO-AMÉRICAINNE DE SOLIDARITÉ (OLAS)

Notre Parti ne se fit pas représenter à la Conférence de la OLAS, qui eu lieu à Havana en Juillet. Comme invitation à cette réunion, nous avons reçu, par l'intermédiaire d'un Parti frère, l'information que la VIII réunion du Comité Organisateur du 31 Août 1966, avait décidé créer au Brésil un Comité National de la OLAS, dans lequel, à Côté de notre Parti devraient prendre part, à droits égaux, des éléments scissionnistes et des renégats bien connus. Nous croyons que la OLAS pourrait contribuer considérablement à la solidarité et l'aide aux mouvements démocratiques et révolutionnaires de l'Amérique Latine. Nous sommes néanmoins contraires à ce que la OLAS s'érige en centre d'orientation politique du mouvement révolutionnaire de nos pays.

De plus, nous ne pouvons pas approuver les attaques faits par le Comité Organisateur de la OLAS au Parti frère du Venezuela. L'unité de la lutte anti-impérialiste et révolutionnaire en Amérique Latine ne pourra être victorieuse qu'à la condition

de s'appuyer sur l'unité du mouvement communiste latino-américain. Ainsi, toutes les manifestations de liquidationisme et de fraction sont condamnables.

La révolution cubaine est, en Amérique Latine, la plus grande conquête des communistes et des peuples latino-américains. En la défendant, ils défendent leurs propres intérêts, ainsi que leur avenir.

La lutte commune des communistes, des révolutionnaires et des démocrates doit être orientée contre l'impérialisme, en faveur de l'indépendance nationale, de la liberté des peuples, de la destruction des plans agressifs de l'impérialisme américain et ses complices, de la solidarité à la révolution cubaine et au gouvernement cubain. C'est dans cette voie que nous intensifierons les activités de notre Parti.

La Commission Exécutive du Comité Central
du Parti Communiste Brésilien

le 15 Août 1967.

DECLARATIONS CONJOINTES DES PARTIS COMMUNISTES D'ARGENTINE, DU CHILI, DE L'URUGUAY ET DU BRÉSIL

Au cours du mois de Juin 1967, une délégation du Comité Central de notre Parti a rencontré des délégations fraternelles des Comités Centraux des Partis Communistes de l'Argentine, du Chili et de l'Uruguay. A l'issue de la rencontre, des déclarations conjointes furent rendues publiques. L'échange des points de vue eut lieu dans une atmosphère de profonde amitié et compréhension et révéla une identité d'opinion en ce qui concerne les grands problèmes internationaux et ceux de l'Amérique Latine, notamment ce qui a trait du travail unitaire dans nos respectifs pays et la nécessité d'une meilleure liaison, afin d'impulser la lutte pour la liberté, l'indépendance nationale et la paix.

En résumé, voici les points essentiels des trois déclarations:

- Défense de la Révolution Cubaine.
- Défense de l'unité des Partis Communistes, basée sur les principes du Marxisme-Léninisme et l'internationalisme prolétarien.
- Condamnation à toute ingérence dans les problèmes internes de chaque Parti et combat sans merci à toute activité division-

niste, quelque soit sa nature ou origine.

— Nécessité d'établir une liaison plus étroite entre les forces révolutionnaires des quatre pays, face aux croissantes et désespérées actions de l'ennemi commun, l'impérialisme américain.

— Se maintenir en garde et prêt à l'action, face aux préparatifs belliqueux de l'impérialisme, en particulier ceux qui se réalisent sous l'égide de l'OEA, comme la Force Inter-Américaine de Paix (FIP), en réalité une organisation militaire destinée à enrayer et combattre les luttes patriotiques des peuples d'Amérique Latine.

— Fidélité aux résolutions et à l'esprit des Conférences de Moscou de 1957 et 1960; poursuite des efforts afin de rétablir l'harmonie et l'unité du mouvement communiste international et condamnation des attitudes divisionnistes des dirigeants chinois. Nécessité de la convocation d'une Conférence Mondiale des Partis Communistes et Ouvriers.

— SALUER LA GRANDE RÉVOLUTION SOCIALISTE D'OCTOBRE ET S'ASSOCIER A SES COMMÉMORATIONS.

CONGRÈS DE L'UNION NATIONALE DES ÉTUDIANTS: NOUVELLES VIOLENCES DU GOUVERNEMENT COSTA E SILVA

Le XXIX^{ème} Congrès National des Étudiants, organisé par l'UNE, se réalisa à S. Paulo, du 26 au 28 Juillet, avec des délégués de 19 États. Les étudiants communistes y prirent part à côté d'autres forces politiques.

Dès les premiers préparatifs jusqu'à la clôture du Congrès, l'action de la police et de l'armée locale se fit présent, de la façon la plus brutale. Malgré tout l'appareil de répression déployé par la dictature, les premières sessions purent se tenir dans un couvent des dominicains. En représaille, une centaine de détentions eurent lieu, parmi lesquelles une dizaine concernant des prêtres, parmi lesquelles celle du supérieur des dominicains, Frei Chico. Des couvents et des domiciles furent envahis à la recherche des "subversifs". La ville se transforma en une vraie place d'armes. Les détentions provoquèrent l'indignation générale, des religieux parcoururent les rues et se postèrent devant la prison réclamant

la liberté des confrères. Les archevêques de São Paulo et de Santo André protestèrent contre les violences et l'invasion des couvents. Le dernier, qui donna publiquement son appui au Congrès, dut répondre à des interrogatoires menés par la police fédérale. Malgré tout l'arbitre, la clôture du Congrès se réalisa en pleine rue, avec la lecture des résolutions adoptées. La réalisation du Congrès eut une énorme répercussion politique et figura comme une énorme défaite imposée à la dictature. Sans compter que se fut une claire manifestation anti-impérialiste et de solidarité aux peuples du Vietnam.

Néanmoins, nous avons à déplorer certains aspects négatifs, comme les critiques injustes faites à l'U.I.E., les discriminations, l'absence d'unité et les prises de positions radicales. Malgré cela, le XXIX^{ème} Congrès de l'UNE ouvre la voie à des nouvelles victoires des étudiants contre la dictature et l'impérialisme.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jave to*

DATE: January 3, 1968

FROM : C. R. Downing *CR*

SUBJECT: *4* SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/3/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

7/1/68

REC-23

100-428091-6676

EX-113

JAN 8 1968

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb
(7)

76 JH
67 JAN 11 1968 *200P*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: December 20, 1967

1 - Mr. E. P. Grigalus
1 - Mr. W. G. Shaw

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

NY 694-S* recently learned from Communist Party leader Gus Hall that Paul Albert, a concealed Party member, allegedly played a leading role in influencing Senator Eugene McCarthy (Democrat-Minnesota) to enter the Presidential primaries. As far as we know, Hall and NY 694-S* are the only persons privileged to this information. In view of the circumstances involved in this situation, it is recommended that no immediate dissemination be made of this information until we have had an opportunity to check it out.

By way of background, NY 694-S*, who operates the clandestine Solo communication apparatus between the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was recently invited to the home of Gus Hall. When informant arrived, Albert, a long-time Party member who is currently concealing his Party membership, was also present. Sometime ago, Hall put Albert on the Party payroll in an effort to have Albert use his political influence in behalf of the Party since Albert reportedly is well acquainted with many of the leading Democrats in the Congress of the United States. Although NY 694-S* knows of Albert's background, Hall was not aware of this, and, as customary, Hall did not introduce the informant to Albert. In response to informant's query as to who Albert was, Hall replied that Albert was "the man who got (Senator Eugene) McCarthy to run in the primaries (for the Democratic nomination for President in 1968)." 100-428091-10617

While still at Hall's home, NY 694-S* had a discussion with Hall relative to passing sundry information to the Soviets through the Solo clandestine apparatus. On this occasion, Hall indicated that "McCarthy would be going to Moscow in February. I discussed this with them (Soviets) while I was over there (in November, 1967, to participate in the celebration of the October Revolution) and it is all right with them." However, after thinking the matter over, Hall decided not to furnish the Soviets any information regarding McCarthy's travel at the present time.

Enclosure
100-428091

WGS:cst (6)

CONTINUED - OVER

SENT DIRECTOR
FOR APPROVAL
12-21-67

67 JAN 11 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Careful consideration has been given to disseminating this information to the White House and the Department. However, it is not deemed judicious to take this course of action at the present time because (1) Albert, who is on the Party payroll, may have overstated his influence in this matter to impress Hall; (2) Hall is also known to exaggerate and since he knows that NY 694-S* is the individual who makes personal contacts with the Soviets in this country, Hall may have slanted his remarks to build up his own importance with the Soviets; and (3) the possibility also exists that NY 694-S* may have garbled the information. In addition, the dissemination of this information at this time, of necessity, would have to pass through several hands, any one of whom could leak the information to the press. If this should occur, it would undoubtedly destroy our Solo Operation which we have so painstakingly built over the years, since the source would be pinpointed as our informant.

If there is any truth to the allegation, we should be able to come up with data from less sensitive sources. In an effort to pin down this information, we are greatly intensifying our current investigation of Albert. We will follow this situation closely and in the event we are able to substantiate the information obtained by NY 694-S*, consideration will be given at that time to making appropriate dissemination.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the information obtained by NY 694-S* concerning the role allegedly played by Paul Melvin Albert in influencing Senator McCarthy to run in the primaries not be disseminated at this time.

2. That the attached airtel be sent to Los Angeles, copies to Washington Field, instructing that the investigation of Albert be immediately intensified, including the possibility of technical coverage, in an effort to determine the extent of his contacts and influence with leading political figures.

WCF
JMB
W
- 2 -
OK WCF
D

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE January 9, 1968

~~COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.~~
~~INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS~~

Reference is made to the memorandum from this Bureau dated December 6, 1967, captioned "Antidraft Activities, December 4-8, 1967," which stated that [redacted] an individual opposed to United States policy in Vietnam, claimed to have information that the United States would invade North Vietnam. [redacted] has been giving lectures at the "Free University of Pennsylvania."

b6
b7C

A similar allegation has also been passed on to Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, by a Communist Party, USA, official from Wisconsin. According to this Party official, the United States is planning to invade North Vietnam on, or about, January 29, 1968. Hall is expected to forward this information to the Soviet Union in order that the North Vietnamese may be advised.

100-428091

RCP:cst *cst*
(13)

XEROX COPIES BEING FURNISHED MRS. MILDRED STEGALL AT THE WHITE HOUSE, SECRETARY OF STATE, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, DIRECTOR OF CIA, ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL.

NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated January 8, 1968, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RCP:cst. 100-428091-6678

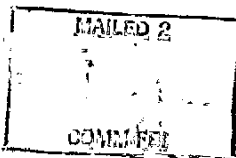
Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation. 6 JAN 11 1968

~~SECRET~~
Group 1

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO.

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-428091-6678

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NOTE CONTINUED:

Data extracted from New York teletype, dated
January 8, 1968, captioned "Solo, Internal Security -
Communist."

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: January 8, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

PURPOSE:

To advise of information received from CG 5824-S* that the United States would invade North Vietnam 1/29/68 and recommend dissemination to the White House, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of Central Intelligence Agency, and the Attorney General.

BACKGROUND:

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

New York teletype 1/8/68 set forth data obtained from CG 5824-S* that [redacted] member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, from Wisconsin, sent a message to Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, that the United States would invade North Vietnam on, or about, 1/29/68. CG 5824-S* anticipates Hall will notify the North Vietnamese through the Soviets using the Solo apparatus. *

This information is similar to that which we received in December, 1967, from another source regarding statement made by [redacted] who has been lecturing at the "Free University of Pennsylvania." This information was disseminated. Although the current information was developed through the Solo Operation, it should be disseminated in paraphrased form to protect the source and by tying it in with the previous information from Einhorn, we feel it can be done without jeopardizing the Solo Operation.

Enclosures
100-428091

RCP:cst
(6)

*New York has been instructed to send no such message without prior Bureau authority.

CONTINUED - OVER

JAN 11 1968

7 JAN 16 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Attached is a memorandum containing this information in paraphrased form.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that attached memorandum be approved and sent Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Attorney General.

WCS *AS/Am* *✓* *AS*
OK *Φ*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: January 9, 1968

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

PURPOSE:

To advise that CG 5824-S* has been instructed to send message to Soviet Union alleging the United States plans invasion of North Vietnam 1/29/68.

BACKGROUND:

Solo is the code word used to refer to our highly sensitive informant operation between the Communist Party, USA, (CPUSA) and other communist parties of the world.

My memorandum dated 1/8/68 advised that [redacted] a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, from Wisconsin, had sent a message to Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, that the United States would invade North Vietnam on, or about, 1/29/68. Thornton Wood, Supervisor, New York Office, has telephonically advised that CG 5824-S* has received the following message from Hall for transmission to the Russians: "CCCPSU (Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union) - Urgent - Have reliable information that invasion of DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) by U.S. and puppet troops is scheduled for January 29, 1968. Decision reached when President Johnson talked to allies on visiting Australia in December. More information will be furnished in a few days. Gus Hall."

If message to be sent over Solo apparatus, must be submitted by New York to Bureau for encoding today and must be left in dead drop tomorrow morning.

Enclosure sent 1-9-68

100-428091

RCP:cst
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-68

6 JAN 11 1968

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b7C

7 JAN 11 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

OBSERVATIONS:

We have no information regarding possible invasion of North Vietnam. Information could be reliable or completely erroneous. Nevertheless, we have no alternative but to send message over Solo apparatus since Hall has instructed informant to do so and failure to do so would destroy Solo Operation. Further, failure to send message would not prevent Hall from sending message through other channel since actually he could merely pick up the phone and advise the Soviet Mission to the United Nations or the Soviet Embassy. He has been known to take similar action in the past.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That New York be telephonically authorized to proceed with Solo transmission of above message in regular manner.
2. That attached teletype to the White House, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency be approved and transmitted. A copy of teletype will be furnished to the Attorney General.

guy

P

W.E.S.
OK.
X

ph

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1/9/68

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
URGENT 1 - Mr. Putnam

TO THE WHITE HOUSE, SITUATION ROOM
ATTENTION: MRS. MILDRED STEGALL
SECRETARY OF STATE
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-428091)

~~(SECRET)~~ COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED THAT GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, IS SENDING A MESSAGE TO
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ALLEGING UNITED STATES
WILL INVADE NORTH VIETNAM ON OR ABOUT JANUARY TWENTY-NINE, NEXT.

RCP:sss
(7) *ss*

Solo

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan,
dated 1/9/68, captioned "Solo, IS - C," prepared by RCP:cst.
Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this
information could reveal identity of source (CG 5824-S*), who
is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in
grave damage to the Nation.

RECEIVED

cc sent AG 1/10/68

by 5-14 16

RCP:cst

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 9 1968
ENCIPHERED

W.C.S. 1/10/68
Jan 11

REC-68

100-428091-6680

6 JAN 11 1968

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

68 JAN 16 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

ROUTE

ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 1/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

5- R.D. [initials]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies, and for New York one copy, of an informant's statement captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA REQUEST FOR FINANCIAL SUBSIDY BY COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR 1968."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 12/4-15/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE.

P

- 1-904, 912 w/ [unclear]*
- (3) - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes
(5)

REC-68

JAN 11 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

67 JAN 11 1968

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA REQUEST FOR
FINANCIAL SUBSIDY BY COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR 1968**

During November, 1967, a representative of the Communist Party (CP), USA was in Moscow, USSR, and engaged in negotiations with representatives of the International Department of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, for the purpose of obtaining a financial subsidy for the CP, USA from the CP of the Soviet Union for the period of 1968. A letter was prepared addressed to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, which detailed the request of the CP, USA for an amount totalling \$2,140,000. This letter, of course, contained greetings upon the occasion of the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, expressed the thanks of the CP, USA for past "expressions of international solidarity" by the CP of the Soviet Union, and stated that although the CP, USA was reluctant to make such a request again, it was sure the dilemma of the American Party was viewed with a sympathetic eye by the CP of the Soviet Union. The financial needs of the CP, USA for the year 1968 were then listed as follows:

\$700,000	Annual deficit resulting from publication of new daily CP, USA paper
\$250,000	Work among the Negroes
\$400,000	For independent political action and work in the 1968 election campaign, including work in new independent organizations as well as in the established political parties.
\$100,000	Subsidies of other CP, USA publications such as "Political Affairs", "Freedomways," etc.

100-428091-6682

ENCLOSURE

\$100,000	Subsidies for literature, printing and distribution
\$100,000	For CP defense activities in view of the revival of the McCarran Law
\$100,000	For concentration in basic industry
\$50,000	For care of old and needy CP members
\$50,000	For running of special mailing service
\$75,000	For youth projects and schools
\$200,000	To buy or lease a building for the renewal of the daily Party press
\$15,000	For subsidy of the CP of Puerto Rico
<hr/>	
\$2,140,000	- Total

The CP of the Soviet Union was further informed that the above amount represents the deficit in the operations of the CP, USA and is not a budget of all expenses to be incurred by the CP, USA during 1968. For example, expenses of operating the National Office of the CP, USA amount to \$650,000 and this amount is not included in the above figures since it is hoped that this amount will be raised from contributions, dues, etc. In addition it was noted that nowhere in the above figures is there provision for such important areas of CP, USA work as the peace movement, the American Institute for Marxist Studies, etc., all of which will depend upon other sources of CP, USA income.

(It is noted that the above figures are vastly exaggerated figures which were used by the representative of the CP, USA for the purpose of inducing a larger subsidy for the CP, USA from the CP of the Soviet Union.)

Following the presentation of the above written document embodying the CP, USA request, which also included a written justification or explanation for each itemized request, a discussion was carried on concerning this matter with Nikolai V. Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; and Ye. I. Kuzkov, Deputy to Mostovets. These were very general discussions and both these individuals refused to be drawn into any concrete discussion concerning the request for these funds.

According to Mostovets, the CP of the Soviet Union will not rule on this request until the end of December, 1967, or the first part of 1968. At that time there will be a meeting of the Plenum of the CP of the Soviet Union at which such matters are discussed. Furthermore, there will then be in Moscow the international Committee, consisting of representatives of a number of major Communist and Workers Parties, which considers requests for financial assistance from smaller and less affluent Parties throughout the world. As of that time, this committee already had about sixty requests for financial aid and there was some question whether this committee would even be able to handle all these requests. Mostovets pointed out that this international fund for assistance to CPs was having severe difficulties since a number of Parties which formerly made contributions to the fund have now withdrawn. He stated, for example, that the Chinese and Albanians are no longer contributing. The Romanians have withdrawn from the fund. This year the Hungarians will not participate in the meeting or in the fund since they are trying to show impartiality because the first consultative meeting for an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties will be held in Budapest in February, 1968. As a result of all these problems, Mostovets stated, no answer to the CP, USA request could possibly be forthcoming until about the beginning of the year. Therefore, the discussion ended with the promise that the CP, USA would hear from the CP of the Soviet Union on this subject soon after the beginning of 1968.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1/8/68

SOLO is code word used to refer to liaison operation performed by our informant for CPUSA with other communist parties of the world. Attached alleges U. S. will invade North Vietnam on or about 1/29/68. Similar information received from other sources in December, 1967, and disseminated. Although attached developed through SOLO operation, we feel it can be paraphrased and disseminated to White House, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of CIA, and Attorney General without jeopardizing the operation. We are closely following and will promptly disseminate all additional information developed.

RCP:amr *JP*

PAGE TWO

HALL UNTIL THE NEB MEETING ON JANUARY TWELVE, SIXTY EIGHT. HE HAS ASKED CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK TO DELIVER THE MESSAGE, ALTHOUGH [REDACTED] INSISTED THAT KLING DELIVER THE MESSAGE PERSONALLY WHEN KLING SUGGESTED THAT HE DELIVER IT TO HALL THROUGH CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK.

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK IS CURRENTLY ATTEMPTING TO CONTACT HALL TO DELIVER THE MESSAGE. HE WILL SUGGEST TO HALL THAT [REDACTED] BE SUMMONED TO NEW YORK IMMEDIATELY TO FURNISH FULL DETAILS TO HALL.

b6
b7c

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK ANTICIPATES THAT HALL WILL NOTIFY HANOI THROUGH THE SOVIETS, USING SOLO APPARATUS AS MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED WHEN FURTHER INFORMATION IS RECEIVED.

~~CORR P 1 L 11 7-5 2777 LAST WD KXX INVADE~~

~~P 1 L 14 WD 5 PREFERS~~

END

DKG

FBI WASH DC

2/GMHFBI FTB WASH DC

CC. MR. SULLIVAN

Mr. Sullivan

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 8 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

WA 1

1258 PM URGENT 1-8-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-428091

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-134637 2P.

SOLO, INTERNAL SECURITY - communist

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK, CURRENTLY
IN NYC, ADVISED TODAY AS FOLLOWS.

JACK KLING, MEMBER OF CPUSA NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
IS IN NYC TO CONVEY AN URGENT MESSAGE TO GUS HALL.
THE MESSAGE IS FROM [REDACTED] MEMBER OF CPUSA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FROM MILWAUKEE, WHO REQUESTED THAT
KLING DELIVER THE MESSAGE TO HALL PERSONALLY, AND WHO
HAS REFUSED TO DIVULGE THE SOURCE OF HIS INFORMATION,
WHICH HE STATES IS RELIABLE, TO ANYONE EXCEPT GUS HALL.

THE MESSAGE IS THAT THE USA IS PLANNING TO INVDE
NORTH VIETNAM ON OR ABOUT JANUARY TWENTYNINE, NINETEEN
SIXTY EIGHT.

KLING, FOR PERSONAL REASONS, PEFERS NOT TO SEE

END PAGE ONE

67 JAN 16 1968

XEROX

JAN 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

6 JAN 11 1968

REC-68

100 428091-6683

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 15

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